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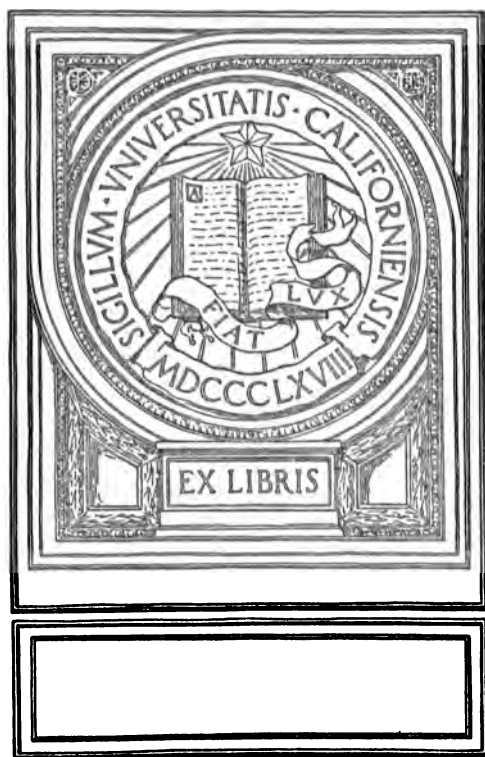
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**THE LIFE OF  
ROBINSON CRUSOE  
IN FOUR VOLUMES  
VOLUME IV**









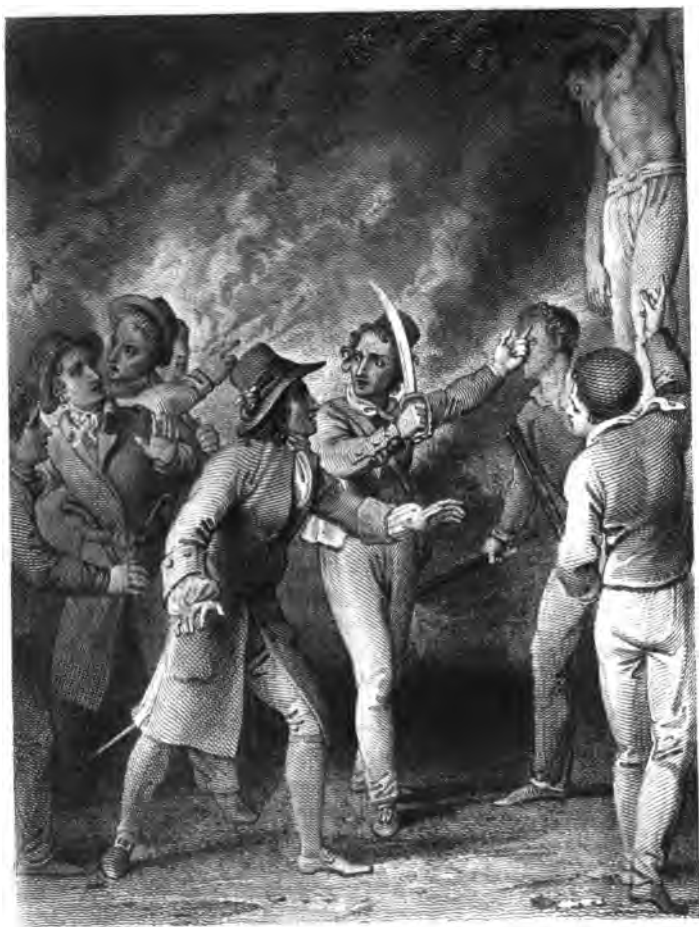


PLATE XVI





THE FURTHER ADVENTURES  
OF  
**Robinson Crusoe**

BY DANIEL DEFOE

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS FROM THE  
DESIGNS BY STOTHARD

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VOL. IV



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# ROBINSON CRUSOE

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# ROBINSON CRUSOE

## CHAPTER XI

**T**HE next day, giving them a salute of five guns at parting, we set sail, and arrived at the Bay of All Saints, in the Brazils, in about twenty-two days, meeting nothing remarkable in our passage but this: that about three days after we had sailed, being becalmed, and the current setting strong to the ENE, running, as it were, into a bay or gulf on the land side, we were driven something out of our course, and once or twice our men cried out, "Land to the eastward"; but whether it was the continent or islands we could not tell by any means. But the third day, towards evening, the sea smooth, and the weather calm, we saw the sea, as it were, covered towards the land with something very black. Not being able to discover what it was till after some time, our chief mate, going up the main-shrouds a little way, and looking at them with a perspective, cried out it was an army. I could not imagine what he meant by an army, and thwarted him a little hastily. "Nay, sir," says he, "don't be angry, for 't is an army, and a fleet too; for I be-

lieve there are a thousand canoes, and you may see them paddle along, for they are coming towards us apace."

I was a little surprised then, indeed, and so was my nephew, the captain; for he had heard such terrible stories of them in the island, and having never been in those seas before, that he could not tell what to think of it, but said, two or three times, we should all be devoured. I must confess, considering we were becalmed, and the current set strong towards the shore, I liked it the worse; however, I bade them not to be afraid, but bring the ship to an anchor as soon as we came so near to know that we must engage them.

The weather continued calm, and they came on apace towards us; so I gave order to come to an anchor, and set all our sails: as for the savages, I told them they had nothing to fear but fire, and therefore they should get their boats out, and fasten them, one close by the head, and the other by the stern, and man them both well, and wait the issue in that posture: this I did, that the men in the boats might be ready with sheets and buckets to put out any fire these savages would endeavour to fix to the outside of the ship.

In this posture we lay by for them, and in a little while they came up with us; but never was such a horrid sight seen by Christians: though my mate was much mistaken in his calculation of their number, yet when they came up we reckoned about a hundred and twenty-six; some of them had sixteen

or seventeen men in them, some more, and the least six or seven.

When they came nearer to us, they seemed to be struck with wonder and astonishment, as at a sight which doubtless they had never seen before ; nor could they, at first, as we afterwards understood, know what to make of us. They came boldly up, however, very near to us, and seemed to go about to row round us ; but we called to our men in the boats not to let them come too near them. This very order brought us to an engagement with them, without our designing it : for five or six of the large canoes came so near our long-boat that our men beckoned with their hands to keep them back, which they understood very well, and went back, but at their retreat about fifty arrows came on board us from those boats, and one of our men in the long-boat was very much wounded. However, I called to them not to fire by any means ; but we handed down some deal boards into the boat, and the carpenter presently set up a kind of fence, like waste boards, to cover them from the arrows of the savages, if they should shoot again.

About half an hour afterwards they all came up in a body astern of us, and so near as that we could easily discern what they were, though we could not tell their design ; and I easily found they were some of my old friends, the same sort of savages that I had been used to engage with ; and in a short time more they rowed a little farther out to sea, till they came directly broadside with us, and then rowed

down straight upon us, till they came so near that they could hear us speak : upon this I ordered all my men to keep close, lest they should shoot any more arrows, and made all our guns ready ; but being so near as to be within hearing, I made Friday go out upon the deck, and call out aloud to them in his language, to know what they meant ; which accordingly he did. Whether they understood him or not, that I knew not ; but as soon as he had called to them, six of them, who were in the foremost or highest boat to us, turned their canoes from us, and stooping down, showed us their naked backsides, just as if, in English, saving your presence, they had bid us kiss ——. Whether this was a defiance or challenge we knew not, or whether it was done in mere contempt, or as a signal to the rest ; but immediately Friday cried out they were going to shoot, and, unhappily for him, poor fellow, they let fly about three hundred of their arrows, and, to my inexpressible grief, killed poor Friday, no other man being in their sight. The poor fellow was shot with no less than three arrows, and about three more fell very near him ; such unlucky marksmen they were !

I was so enraged at the loss of my old trusty servant and companion that I immediately ordered five guns to be loaded with small shot, and four with great, and gave them such a broadside as they had never heard in their lives before, to be sure. They were not above half a cable-length off when we fired ; and our gunners took their aim so well that three or

four of their canoes were overset, as we had reason to believe, by one shot only.

The ill manners of turning up their bare backsides to us gave us no great offence ; neither did I know for certain whether that which would pass for the greatest contempt among us might be understood so by them or not ; therefore, in return, I had only resolved to have fired four or five guns at them with powder only, which I knew would frighten them sufficiently : but when they shot at us directly, with all the fury they were capable of, and especially as they had killed my poor Friday, whom I so entirely loved and valued, and who, indeed, so well deserved it, I thought myself not only justifiable before God and man, but would have been very glad if I could have overset every canoe there, and drowned every one of them.

I can neither tell how many we killed, nor how many we wounded, at this broadside, but sure such a fright and hurry never was seen among such a multitude. There were thirteen or fourteen of their canoes split and overset in all, and the men all set a-swimming : the rest, frightened out of their wits, scoured away as fast as they could, taking but little care to save those whose boats were split or spoiled with our shot ; so I suppose that many of them were lost ; and our men took up one poor fellow swimming for his life, above an hour after they were all gone.

The small shot from our cannon must needs kill and wound a great many ; but, in short, we never

knew anything how it went with them, for they fled so fast that in three hours, or thereabouts, we could not see above three or four straggling canoes, nor did we ever see the rest any more ; for a breeze of wind springing up the same evening, we weighed, and set sail for the Brazils.

We had a prisoner, indeed, but the creature was so sullen that he would neither eat nor speak, and we all fancied he would starve himself to death. But I took a way to cure him ; for I made them take him and turn him into the long-boat, and make him believe they would toss him into the sea again, and so leave him where they found him, if he would not speak : nor would that do, but they really did throw him into the sea, and came away from him, and then he followed them, for he swam like a cork, and called to them, in his tongue, though they knew not one word of what he said. However, at last they took him in again, and then he began to be more tractable, nor did I ever design they should drown him.

We were now under sail again ; but I was the most disconsolate creature alive for want of my man Friday, and would have been very glad to have gone back to the island to have taken one of the rest from thence for my occasion ; but it could not be ; so we went on. We had one prisoner, as I have said, and it was a long time before we could make him understand anything : but, in time, our men taught him some English, and he began to be a little tractable. Afterwards, we inquired what country he came from, but could make nothing of what he

said ; for his speech was so odd, all gutturals, and he spoke in the throat in such a hollow, odd manner that we could never form a word after him. And we were all of opinion that they might speak that language as well if they were gagged as otherwise ; nor could we perceive that they had any occasion either for teeth, tongue, lips, or palate, but formed their words just as a hunting-horn forms a tune, with an open throat. He told us, however, some time after, when we had taught him to speak a little English, that they were going with their kings to fight a great battle. When he said kings, we asked him how many kings ? He said they were five nation (we could not make him understand the plural *s*), and that they all joined to go against two nation. We asked him what made them come up to us ? He said, " To makee te great wonder look." Here it is to be observed that all those natives, as also those of Africa, when they learn English, always add two *e*'s at the end of the words where we use one ; and they place the accent upon them, as " makée," " takée," and the like ; and we could not break them of it ; nay, I could hardly make Friday leave it off, though at last he did.

And now I name the poor fellow once more, I must take my last leave of him : Poor honest Friday ! We buried him with all the decency and solemnity possible, by putting him into a coffin, and throwing him into the sea ; and I caused them to fire eleven guns for him : and so ended the life

of the most grateful, faithful, honest, and most affectionate servant that ever man had.

We went now away with a fair wind for Brazil; and in about twelve days' time we made land, in the latitude of five degrees south of the line, being the north-eastermost land of all that part of America. We kept on S. by E. in sight of the shore four days, when we made Cape St. Augustine, and in three days came to an anchor off the Bay of All Saints, the old place of my deliverance, from whence came both my good and evil fate.

Never ship came to this port that had less business than I had, and yet it was with great difficulty that we were admitted to hold the least correspondence on shore; not my partner himself, who was alive, and made a great figure among them, not my two merchant trustees, not the fame of my wonderful preservation in the island, could obtain me that favour. But my partner remembering that I had given five hundred moidores to the priory of the monastery of the Augustines, and two hundred and seventy-two to the poor, went to the monastery, and obliged the prior that then was to go to the governor, and get leave for me personally, with the captain and one more, besides eight seamen, to come on shore, and no more; and this upon condition, absolutely capitulated for, that we should not offer to land any goods out of the ship, or to carry any person away without licence. They were so strict with us as to landing any goods that it was with extreme difficulty that I got on shore



three bales of English goods, such as fine broad-cloths, stuffs, and some linen, which I had brought for a present to my partner.

He was a very generous open-hearted man; though, like me, he came from little at first; and though he knew not that I had the least design of giving him anything, he sent me on board a present of fresh provision, wine, and sweetmeats, worth above thirty moidores, including some tobacco, and three or four fine medals of gold. But I was even with him in my present, which, as I have said, consisted of fine broad-cloth, English stuffs, lace, and fine hollands: also I delivered him about the value of one hundred pounds sterling, in the same goods, for other uses; and I obliged him to set up the sloop, which I had brought with me from England, as I have said, for the use of my colony, in order to send the refreshments I intended to my plantation.

Accordingly, he got hands and finished the sloop in a very few days, for she was already framed; and I gave the master of her such instructions as that he could not miss the place; nor did he miss them, as I had an account from my partner afterwards. I got him soon loaded with the small cargo I sent them; and one of our seamen, that had been on shore with me there, offered to go with the sloop and settle there, upon my letter to the governor Spaniard to allot him a sufficient quantity of land for a plantation, and giving him some clothes and tools for his planting-work, which he said he un-

derstood, having been an old planter at Maryland, and a buccaneer into the bargain. I encouraged the fellow, by granting all he desired; and, as an addition, I gave him the savage whom we had taken prisoner of war to be his slave, and ordered the governor Spaniard to give him his share of everything he wanted with the rest.

When we came to fit this man out, my old partner told me there was a certain very honest fellow, a Brazil planter of his acquaintance, who had fallen into the displeasure of the Church. "I know not what the matter is with him," says he, "but on my conscience I think he is a heretic in his heart, and he has been obliged to conceal himself for fear of the Inquisition"; that he would be very glad of such an opportunity to make his escape, with his wife, and two daughters; and if I would let them go to my island, and allot them a plantation, he would give them a small stock to begin with; for the officers of the Inquisition had seized all his effects and estate, and he had nothing left but a little household stuff, and two slaves: "and," adds he, "though I hate his principles, yet I would not have him fall into their hands, for he will be assuredly burned alive if he does." I granted this presently, and joined my Englishman with them; and we concealed the man, and his wife and daughters, on board our ship, till the sloop put out to go to sea; and then, having put all their goods on board some time before, we put them on board the sloop after she was got out of the bay.

Our seaman was mightily pleased with this new partner ; and their stocks, indeed, were much alike rich in tools, in preparations, and a farm ; but nothing to begin with, except as above : however, they carried over with them, which was worth all the rest, some materials for planting sugar-canes, with some plants of canes, which he, I mean the Portugal man, understood very well.

Among the rest of the supplies sent to my tenants in the island, I sent them by the sloop three milch-cows and five calves, about twenty-two hogs among them, three sows big with pig, two mares, and a stone-horse. For my Spaniards, according to my promise, I engaged three Portugal women to go, and recommended it to them to marry them, and use them kindly. I could have procured more women, but I remembered that the poor prosecuted man had two daughters, and that there were but five of the Spaniards that wanted ; the rest had wives of their own, though in another country.

All this cargo arrived safe, and, as you may easily suppose, was very welcome to my old inhabitants, who were now, with this addition, between sixty and seventy people, besides little children, of which there were a great many. I found letters at London from them all, by way of Lisbon, when I came back to England, of which I shall also take some notice immediately.

I have now done with the island, and all manner of discourse about it ; and whoever reads the rest of my memorandums would do well to turn

his thoughts entirely from it, and expect to read of the follies of an old man, not warned by his own harms, much less by those of other men, to beware of the like ; not cooled by almost forty years' miseries and disappointments ; not satisfied with prosperity beyond expectation, nor made cautious by afflictions and distress beyond imitation.

I had no more business to go to the East Indies than a man at full liberty has to go to the turnkey at Newgate, and desire him to lock him up among the prisoners there, and starve him. Had I taken a small vessel from England, and gone directly to the island ; had I loaded her, as I did the other vessel, with all the necessaries for the plantation, and for my people ; taken a patent from the government here to have secured my property, in subjection only to that of England ; had I carried over cannon and ammunition, servants, and people to plant, and taken possession of the place, fortified and strengthened it in the name of England, and increased it with people, as I might easily have done ; had I then settled myself there, and sent the ship back laden with good rice, as I might also have done in six months' time, and ordered my friends to have fitted her out again for our supply ; had I done this, and stayed there myself, I had at least acted like a man of common sense. But I was possessed with a wandering spirit, and scorned all advantages : I pleased myself with being the patron of the people I placed there, and doing for them in a kind of haughty, majestic way, like an old patri-

archal monarch, providing for them as if I had been father of the whole family, as well as of the plantation: but I never so much as pretended to plant in the name of any government or nation, or to acknowledge any prince, or to call my people subjects to any one nation more than another: nay, I never so much as gave the place a name, but left it, as I found it, belonging to nobody, and the people under no discipline or government but my own; who, though I had influence over them as a father and benefactor, had no authority or power to act or command one way or other, farther than voluntary consent moved them to comply. Yet even this, had I stayed there, would have done well enough; but as I rambled from them, and came there no more, the last letters I had from any of them were by my partner's means, who afterwards sent another sloop to the place, and who sent me word, though I had not the letter till I got to London, several years after it was written, that they went on but poorly, were malcontent with their long stay there; that Will Atkins was dead; that five of the Spaniards were come away; and though they had not been much molested by the savages, yet they had had some skirmishes with them; and that they begged of him to write to me to think of the promise I had made to fetch them away, that they might see their country before they died.

But I was gone a wild-goose chase, indeed! and they that will have any more of me must be content to follow me into a new variety of follies, hard-

ships, and wild adventures, wherein the justice of Providence may be duly observed; and we may see how easily Heaven can gorge us with our own desires, make the strongest of our wishes be our affliction, and punish us most severely with those very things which we think it would be our utmost happiness to be allowed in. Whether I had business or no business, away I went: it is no time now to enlarge upon the reason or absurdity of my own conduct, but to come to the history; I was embarked for the voyage and the voyage I went.

I shall only add a word or two concerning my honest Popish clergyman; for let their opinion of us, and all other heretics in general, as they call us, be as uncharitable as it may, I verily believe this man was very sincere, and wished the good of all men: yet I believe he was upon the reserve in many of his expressions to prevent giving me offence; for I scarce heard him once call on the Blessed Virgin, or mention St. Jago or his guardian angel, though so common with the rest of them. However, I say, I had not the least doubt of his sincerity and pious intentions on his own part; and I am firmly of opinion, if the rest of the Popish missionaries were like him, they would strive to visit even the poor Tartars, and Laplanders, where they had nothing to give them, as well as covet to flock to India, Persia, China, etc., the most wealthy of the heathen countries; for, if they expected to bring no gains to their church by it, it may well be admired how they came to admit the Chinese Con-

fucius into the calendar of the Christian saints. — But this by the by.

A ship being ready to sail for Lisbon, my pious priest asked me leave to go thither ; being still, as he observed, bound never to finish any voyage he began. How happy had it been for me if I had gone with him ! But it was too late now : all things Heaven appoints for the best : had I gone with him, I had never had so many things to be thankful for, and the reader had never heard of the second part of the travels and adventures of Robinson Crusoe : so I must here leave exclaiming at myself, and go on with my voyage. From the Brazils we made directly over the Atlantic Sea to the Cape of Good Hope, and had a tolerable good voyage, our course generally south-east, now and then a storm, and some contrary winds, but my disasters at sea were at an end ; my future rubs and cross events were to befall me on shore, that it might appear the land was as well prepared to be our scourge as the sea.

Our ship was on a trading voyage, and had a supercargo on board, who was to direct all her motions after she arrived at the Cape, only being limited to a certain number of days for stay, by charter-party, at the several ports she was to go to. This was none of my business, neither did I meddle with it ; my nephew, the captain, and the supercargo, adjusting all those things between them as they thought fit.

## CHAPTER XII

**W**E stayed at the Cape no longer than was needful to take in fresh water, but made the best of our way for the coast of Coromandel. We were indeed informed that a French man-of-war of fifty guns, and two large merchant ships, were gone for the Indies; and as I knew we were at war with France, I had some apprehensions of them; but they went their own way, and we heard no more of them.

I shall not pester the reader with a tedious description of places, journals of our voyages, variations of the compass, latitudes, trade-winds, etc.; it is enough to name the ports and places which we touched at, and what occurred to us upon our passing from one to another. We touched first at the island of Madagascar, where, though the people are fierce and treacherous, and very well armed with lances and bows, which they use with inconceivable dexterity, yet we fared very well with them a while; they treated us very civilly; and, for some trifles which we gave them, such as knives, scis-



sors, etc., they brought us eleven good fat bullocks of a middling size, which we took in, partly for fresh provisions for our present spending, and the rest to salt for the ship's use.

We were obliged to stay here some time after we had furnished ourselves with provisions; and I, who was always too curious to look into every nook of the world wherever I came, was for going on shore as often as I could. It was on the east side of the island that we went on shore one evening; and the people, who, by the way, are very numerous, came thronging about us, and stood gazing at us at a distance; but as we had traded freely with them, and had been kindly used, we thought ourselves in no danger; but when we saw the people, we cut three boughs out of a tree, and stuck them up at a distance from us; which, it seems, is a mark in that country, not only of a truce and friendship, but when it is accepted, the other side sets up three poles or boughs, which is a signal that they accept the truce too. But then this is a known condition of the truce, that you are not to pass beyond their three poles, towards them, nor they to come past your three poles, or boughs, towards you; so that you are perfectly secure within the three poles, and all the space between your poles and theirs is allowed like a market for free converse, traffic, and commerce. When you go there, you must not carry your weapons with you; and if they come into that space, they stick up their javelins and lances all at the first poles, and

come on unarmed ; but if any violence is offered them, and the truce thereby broken, away they run to the poles, and lay hold of their weapons, and the truce is at an end.

It happened one evening when we went on shore that a greater number of their people came down than usual, but all very friendly and civil ; and they brought several kinds of provisions, for which we satisfied them with such toys as we had ; their women, also, brought us milk and roots, and several things very acceptable to us, and all was quiet ; and we made us a little tent or hut of some boughs of trees, and lay on shore all night.

I know not what was the occasion, but I was not so well satisfied to lie on shore as the rest ; and the boat riding at an anchor about a stone's cast from the land, with two men in her to take care of her, I made one of them come on shore ; and getting some boughs of trees to cover us also in the boat, I spread the sail on the bottom of the boat, and lay under the cover of the branches of the trees all night in the boat.

About two o'clock in the morning we heard one of our men make a terrible noise on the shore, calling out, for God's sake, to bring the boat in, and come and help them, for they were all like to be murdered ; at the same time I heard the fire of five muskets, which was the number of the guns they had, and that three times over ; for, it seems, the natives were not so easily frightened with guns as the savages were in America, where I had to do

with them. All this while I knew not what was the matter, but rousing immediately from sleep with the noise, I caused the boat to be thrust in, and resolved, with three fusees we had on board, to land and assist our men.

We got the boat soon to the shore, but our men were in too much haste; for being come to the shore, they plunged into the water, to get to the boat with all the expedition they could, being pursued by between three and four hundred men. Our men were but nine in all, and only five of them had fusees with them; the rest had pistols and swords, indeed, but they were of small use to them.

We took up seven of our men, and with difficulty enough too, three of them being very ill wounded; and that which was still worse was that, while we stood in the boat to take our men in, we were in as much danger as they were in on shore; for they poured their arrows in upon us so thick that we were glad to barricade the side of the boat up with the benches, and two or three loose boards, which, to our great satisfaction, we had by mere accident in the boat. And yet, had it been daylight, they are, it seems, such exact marksmen that if they could have seen but the least part of any of us, they would have been sure of us. We had, by the light of the moon, a little sight of them, as they stood pelting us from the shore with darts and arrows; and having got ready our fire-arms, we gave them a volley, that we could hear, by the cries of some of them, had wounded several; how-

ever, they stood thus in battle array on the shore till break of day, which we suppose was that they might see the better to take their aim at us.

In this condition we lay, and could not tell how to weigh our anchor or set up our sail, because we must needs stand up in the boat, and they were as sure to hit us as we were to hit a bird in a tree with small shot. We made signals of distress to the ship, which, though she rode a league off, yet my nephew, the captain, hearing our firing, and by glasses perceiving the posture we lay in, and that we fired towards the shore, pretty well understood us; and weighing anchor with all speed, he stood as near the shore as he durst with the ship, and then sent another boat, with ten hands in her, to assist us: but we called to them not to come too near, telling them what condition we were in. However, they stood in near to us, and one of the men taking the end of the tow-line in his hand, and keeping our boat between him and the enemy, so that they could not perfectly see him, swam on board us, and made fast the line to the boat; upon which we shipped out a little cable, and leaving our anchor behind, they towed us out of the reach of the arrows; we all the while lying close behind the barricado we had made.

As soon as we were got from between the ship and the shore, that we could lay her side to the shore, she run along just by them, and poured in a broadside among them loaded with pieces of iron and lead, small bullets, and such stuff, besides the

great shot, which made a terrible havoc among them.

When we got on board and out of danger, we had time to examine into the occasion of this fray; and, indeed, our supercargo, who had been often in those parts, put me upon it; for he said he was sure the inhabitants would not have touched us after we had made a truce, if we had not done something to provoke them to it. At length it came out that an old woman who had come to sell us some milk had brought it within our poles, and a young woman with her, who also brought some roots or herbs; and while the old woman (whether she was mother to the young woman or no they could not tell) was selling us the milk, one of our men offered some rudeness to the wench that was with her, at which the old woman made a great noise. However, the seaman would not quit his prize, but carried her out of the old woman's sight among the trees, it being almost dark: the old woman went away without her, and, as we may suppose, made an outcry among the people she came from, who, upon notice, raised this great army upon us in three or four hours; and it was great odds but we had all been destroyed.

One of our men was killed with a lance thrown at him just at the beginning of the attack, as he sallied out of the tent they had made: the rest came off free, all but the fellow who was the occasion of all the mischief, who paid dear enough for his black mistress, for we could not hear what became of

him a great while. We lay upon the shore two days after, though the wind presented, and made signals for him, and made our boat sail up shore and down shore several leagues, but in vain, so we were obliged to give him over; and if he alone had suffered for it, the loss had been less.

I could not satisfy myself, however, without venturing on shore once more, to try if I could learn anything of him or them: it was the third night after the action that I had a great mind to learn, if I could by any means, what mischief we had done, and how the game stood on the Indians' side. I was careful to do it in the dark, lest we should be attacked again; but I ought, indeed, to have been sure that the men I went with had been under my command, before I engaged in a thing so hazardous and mischievous as I was brought into by it without design.

We took twenty as stout fellows with us as any in the ship, besides the supercargo and myself, and we landed two hours before midnight, at the same place where the Indians stood drawn up the evening before: I landed here, because my design, as I have said, was chiefly to see if they had quitted the field, and if they had left any marks behind them of the mischief we had done them; and I thought if we could surprise one or two of them, perhaps we might get our man again, by way of exchange.

We landed without any noise, and divided our men into two bodies, whereof the boatswain commanded

one, and I the other. We neither saw nor heard anybody stir when we landed; and we marched up, one body at a distance from the other, to the place; but at first could see nothing, it being very dark; till by and by our boatswain, who led the first party, stumbled and fell over a dead body. This made them halt a while; for knowing by the circumstances that they were at the place where the Indians had stood, they waited for my coming up there. We concluded to halt till the moon began to rise, which we knew would be in less than an hour, when we could easily discern the havoc we had made among them. We told thirty-two bodies upon the ground, whereof two were not quite dead; some had an arm, and some a leg shot off, and one his head; those that were wounded, we suppose, they had carried away.

When we had made, as I thought, a full discovery of all we could come to the knowledge of, I was resolved for going on board; but the boatswain and his party sent me word that they were resolved to make a visit to the Indian town, where these dogs, as they called them, dwelt, and asked me to go along with them; and if they could find them, as they still fancied they should, they did not doubt of getting a good booty; and it might be they might find Tom Jeffry there: that was the man's name we had lost.

Had they sent to ask my leave to go, I knew well enough what answer to have given them; for I should have commanded them instantly on board,

knowing it was not a hazard fit for us to run, who had a ship, and ship-loading in our charge, and a voyage to make which depended very much upon the lives of the men; but as they sent me word they were resolved to go, and only asked me and my company to go along with them, I positively refused it, and rose up, for I was sitting on the ground, in order to go to the boat. One or two of the men began to importune me to go : and when I refused, began to grumble, and say that they were not under my command, and they would go. "Come, Jack," says one of the men, "will you go with me? I'll go for one." Jack said he would, — and then another, — and, in a word, they all left me but one, whom I persuaded to stay, and a boy left in the boat. So the supercargo and I, with the third man, went back to the boat, where we told them we would stay for them, and take care to take in as many of them as should be left ; for I told them it was a mad thing they were going about, and supposed most of them would run the fate of Tom Jeffry.

They told me, like seamen, they would warrant it they would come off again, and they would take care, etc. ; so away they went. I entreated them to consider the ship and the voyage, that their lives were not their own, and that they were entrusted with the voyage, in some measure ; that if they miscarried, the ship might be lost for want of their help, and that they could not answer for it to God or man. But I might as well have talked to the



mainmast of the ship. They were mad upon their journey, only they gave me good words, and begged I would not be angry; that they did not doubt but they would be back again in about an hour at farthest; for the Indian town, they said, was not above half a mile off, though they found it above two miles before they got to it.

Well, they all went away; and though the attempt was desperate, and such as none but madmen would have gone about, yet, to give them their due, they went about it as warily as boldly. They were gallantly armed, for they had every man a fusee or musket, a bayonet, and a pistol; some of them had broad cutlasses, some of them had hangers, and the boatswain and two more had pole-axes; besides all which they had among them thirteen hand-grenadoes: bolder fellows, and better provided, never went about any wicked work in the world.

When they went out, their chief design was plunder, and they were in mighty hopes of finding gold there; but a circumstance, which none of them were aware of, set them on fire with revenge, and made devils of them all. When they came to the few Indian houses which they thought had been the town, which was not above half a mile off, they were under a great disappointment, for there were not above twelve or thirteen houses; and where the town was, or how big, they knew not. They consulted, therefore, what to do, and were some time before they could resolve; for if they fell upon

these, they must cut all their throats, and it was ten to one but some of them might escape, it being in the night, though the moon was up; and if one escaped, he would run and raise all the town, so they should have a whole army upon them: again, on the other hand, if they went away and left those untouched, for the people were all asleep, they could not tell which way to look for the town: however, the last was the best advice; so they resolved to leave them, and look for the town as well as they could. They went on a little way, and found a cow tied to a tree; this, they presently concluded, would be a good guide to them; for, they said, the cow certainly belonged to the town before them, or to the town behind them; and if they untied her, they should see which way she went: if she went back, they had nothing to say to her; but, if she went forward, they would follow her: so they cut the cord, which was made of twisted flags, and the cow went on before them, directly to the town; which, as they reported, consisted of above two hundred houses or huts, and in some of these they found several families living together.

Here they found all in silence, as profoundly secure as sleep could make them; and, first, they called another council, to consider what they had to do; and, in a word, they resolved to divide themselves into three bodies, and so set three houses on fire in three parts of the town; and as the men came out, to seize them and bind them (if any resisted, they need not be asked what to do then),

and so to search the rest of the houses for plunder: but they resolved to march silently first through the town, and to see what dimensions it was of, and if they might venture upon it or no.

They did so, and desperately resolved that they would venture upon them: but while they were animating one another to the work, three of them, who were a little before the rest, called out aloud to them, and told them that they had found Tom Jeffry: they all ran up to the place, where they found the poor fellow hanging up naked by one arm, and his throat cut. There was an Indian house just by the tree, where they found sixteen or seventeen of the principal Indians, who had been concerned in the fray with us before, and two or three of them wounded with our shot; and our men found they were awake, and talking one to another in that house, but knew not their number.

The sight of their poor mangled comrade so enraged them, as before, that they swore to one another they would be revenged, and that not an Indian that came into their hands should have any quarter; and to work they went immediately, and yet not so madly as might be expected from the rage and fury they were in. Their first care was to get something that would soon take fire, but, after a little search, they found that would be to no purpose; for most of the houses were low, and thatched with flags and rushes, of which the country is full: so they presently made some wildfire, as we call it, by wetting a little powder in the palm of their

hands; and in a quarter of an hour they set the town on fire in four or five places, and particularly that house where the Indians were not gone to bed.

As soon as the fire began to blaze, the poor frightened creatures began to rush out to save their lives, but met their fate in the attempt; and especially at the door, where they drove them back, the boatswain himself killing one or two with his pole-axe; the house being large, and many in it, he did not care to go in, but called for a hand-grenado, and threw it among them, which at first frightened them, but, when it burst, made such havoc among them that they cried out in a hideous manner. In short, most of the Indians who were in the open part of the house were killed or hurt with the grenado, except two or three who pressed to the door, which the boatswain and two more kept, with their bayonets on the muzzles of their pieces, and dispatched all that came in their way: but there was another apartment in the house, where the prince or king, or whatever he was, and several others were; and these were kept in till the house, which was by this time all in a light flame, fell in upon them, and they were smothered together.

All this while they fired not a gun, because they would not waken the people faster than they could master them; but the fire began to waken them fast enough, and our fellows were glad to keep a little together in bodies; for the fire grew so raging, all the houses being made of light combustible

stuff, that they could hardly bear the street between them ; and their business was to follow the fire, for the surer execution. As fast as the fire either forced the people out of those houses which were burning, or frightened them out of others, our people were ready at their doors to knock them on the head, still calling and hallooing one to another to remember Tom Jeffry.

While this was doing, I must confess I was very uneasy, and especially when I saw the flames of the town, which, it being night, seemed to be just by me. My nephew, the captain, who was roused by his men, seeing such a fire, was very uneasy, not knowing what the matter was or what danger I was in, especially hearing the guns too, for by this time they began to use their fire-arms; a thousand thoughts oppressed his mind concerning me and the supercargo, what would become of us ; and at last, though he could ill spare any more men, yet not knowing what exigence we might be in, he takes another boat, and with thirteen men and himself comes on shore to me.

He was surprised to see me and the supercargo in the boat, with no more than two men ; and though he was glad that we were well, yet he was in the same impatience with us to know what was doing ; for the noise continued and the flame increased ; in short, it was next to an impossibility for any men in the world to restrain their curiosity to know what had happened, or their concern for the safety of the men : in a word, the captain told

me he would go and help his men, let what would come. I argued with him, as I did before with the men, the safety of the ship, the danger of the voyage, the interest of the owners and merchants, etc., and told him I and the two men would go, and only see if we could at a distance learn what was like to be the event, and come back and tell him. It was all one to talk to my nephew as it was to talk to the rest before; he would go he said; and he only wished he had left but ten men in the ship; for he could not think of having his men lost for want of help; he had rather lose the ship, the voyage, and his life and all; and away he went.

I was no more able to stay behind now than I was to persuade them not to go: so, in short, the captain ordered two men to row back the pinnace, and fetch twelve men more, leaving the long-boat at an anchor; and that when they came back, six men should keep the two boats, and six more come after us: so that he left only sixteen men in the ship; for the whole ship's company consisted of sixty-five men, whereof two were lost in the late quarrel which brought this mischief on.

Being now on the march, you may be sure we felt little of the ground we trod on; and being guided by the fire, we kept no path, but went directly to the place of the flame. If the noise of the guns was surprising to us before, the cries of the poor people were now quite of another nature, and filled us with horror. I must confess I was never at the sacking a city, or at the taking a town by

storm. I had heard of Oliver Cromwell taking Drogheda, in Ireland, and killing man, woman, and child; and I had read of Count Tilly sacking the city of Magdeburg, and cutting the throats of twenty-two thousand of all sexes; but I never had an idea of the thing before, nor is it possible to describe it, or the horror that was upon our minds at hearing it. However, we went on, and at length came to the town, though there was no entering the streets of it for the fire. The first object we met with was the ruins of a hut or house, or rather the ashes of it, for the house was consumed; and just before it, plain enough to be seen by the light of the fire, lay four men and three women killed, and, as we thought, one or two more lay in the heap among the fire; in short, there were such instances of rage altogether barbarous, and of a fury something beyond what was human, that we thought it impossible our men could be guilty of it; or if they were the authors of it, we thought they ought to be every one of them put to the worst of deaths. But this was not all: we saw the fire increased forward, and the cry went on just as the fire went on; so that we were in the utmost confusion. We advanced a little way farther; and, behold, to our astonishment, three naked women, and crying in a most dreadful manner, came flying as if they had wings, and after them sixteen or seventeen men, natives, in the same terror and consternation, with three of our English butchers in the rear; who, when they could not overtake them, fired in among them, and

one that was killed by their shot fell down in our sight. When the rest saw us, believing us to be their enemies, and that we would murder them as well as those that pursued them, they set up a most dreadful shriek, especially the women, and two of them fell down, as if already dead, with the fright.

My very soul shrunk within me, and my blood ran chill in my veins, when I saw this; and I believe, had the three English sailors that pursued them come on, I had made our men kill them all. However, we took some ways to let the poor flying creatures know that we would not hurt them; and immediately they came up to us, and kneeling down with their hands lifted up, made piteous lamentation to us to save them, which we let them know we would; whereupon they crept all together in a huddle close behind us as for protection. I left my men drawn up together, and charging them to hurt nobody, but if possible to get at some of our people, and see what devil it was possessed them, and what they intended to do, and to command them off; assuring them that if they stayed till daylight, they would have a hundred thousand men about their ears: I say, I left them, and went among those flying people, taking only two of our men with me; and there was indeed a piteous spectacle among them; some of them had their feet terribly burned, with trampling and running through the fire, others their hands burned; one of the women had fallen down in the fire, and was very much burned before she could get out again;



and two or three of the men had cuts in their backs and thighs, from our men pursuing; and another was shot through the body, and died while I was there.

I would fain have learned what the occasion of all this was, but I could not understand one word they said; though, by signs, I perceived some of them knew not what was the occasion themselves. I was so terrified, in my thoughts, at this outrageous attempt that I could not stay there, but went back to my own men, and resolved to go into the middle of the town, through the fire, or whatever might be in the way, and put an end to it, cost what it would. Accordingly, as I came back to my men, I told them my resolution, and commanded them to follow me; when at the very moment came four of our men, with the boatswain at their head, roving over heaps of bodies they had killed, all covered with blood and dust, as if they wanted more people to massacre, when our men hallooed to them as loud as they could halloo; and with much ado one of them made them hear, so that they knew who we were, and came up to us.

As soon as the boatswain saw us, he set up a halloo like a shout of triumph, for having, as he thought, more help come; and without waiting to hear me, "Captain," says he, "noble captain! I am glad you are come; we are not half-done yet: villainous hell-hound dogs! I'll kill as many of them as poor Tom has hairs upon his head: we have sworn to spare none of them; we'll root out

the very nation of them from the earth": and thus he ran on, out of breath too with action, and would not give us leave to speak a word.

At last, raising my voice, that I might silence him a little, "Barbarous dog!" said I, "what are you doing? I won't have one creature touched more, upon pain of death: I charge you, upon your life, to stop your hands, and stand still here, or you are a dead man this minute." "Why, sir," says he, "do you know what you do, or what they have done? If you want a reason for what we have done, come hither"; and with that he showed me the poor fellow hanging, with his throat cut.

I confess I was urged then myself, and at another time would have been forward enough; but I thought they had carried their rage too far, and remembered Jacob's words to his sons Simeon and Levi—"Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel." But I had now a new task upon my hands; for when the men I carried with me saw the sight, as I had done, I had as much to do to restrain them as I should have had with the others; nay, my nephew himself fell in with them, and told me, in their hearing, that he was only concerned for fear of the men being overpowered; and as to the people, he thought not one of them ought to live; for they had glutted themselves with the murder of the poor man, and that they ought to be used like murderers. Upon these words, away ran eight of my men, with the boatswain and his crew, to complete their bloody

work ; and I, seeing it quite out of my power to restrain them, came away pensive and sad ; for I could not bear the sight, much less the horrible noise and cries of the poor wretches that fell into their hands.

I got nobody to come back with me but the supercargo and two men, and with these walked back to the boat. It was a very great piece of folly in me, I confess, to venture back as it were alone ; for as it began now to be almost day, and the alarm had run over the country, there stood about forty men, armed with lances and bows, at the little place where the twelve or thirteen houses stood mentioned before ; but by accident I missed the place, and came directly to the seaside ; and by the time I got to the seaside it was broad day ; immediately I took the pinnace and went on board, and sent her back to assist the men in what might happen.

I observed, about the time that I came to the boat's side, that the fire was pretty well out, and the noise abated : but in about half an hour after I got on board I heard a volley of our men's fire-arms, and saw a great smoke : this, as I understood afterwards, was our men falling upon the men who, as I said, stood at the few houses on the way, of whom they killed sixteen or seventeen, and set all the houses on fire, but did not meddle with the women or children.

By the time the men got to the shore again with the pinnace, our men began to appear ; they came dropping in, not in two bodies as they went, but

straggling here and there in such a manner that a small force of resolute men might have cut them all off. But the dread of them was upon the whole country ; and the men were surprised, and so frightened, that I believe a hundred of them would have fled at the sight of but five of our men. Nor in all this terrible action was there a man that made any considerable defence ; they were so surprised between the terror of the fire and the sudden attack of our men in the dark that they knew not which way to turn themselves ; for if they fled one way they were met by one party ; if back again, by another ; so that they were everywhere knocked down : nor did any of our men receive the least hurt, except one that sprained his foot, and another that had one of his hands burned.

I was very angry with my nephew, the captain, and, indeed, with all the men, in my mind, but with him in particular, as well for his acting so out of his duty, as commander of the ship, and having the charge of the voyage upon him, as in his prompting, rather than cooling, the rage of his blind men in so bloody and cruel an enterprise. My nephew answered me very respectfully, but told me that when he saw the body of the poor seaman whom they had murdered in so cruel and barbarous a manner, he was not master of himself, neither could he govern his passion : he owned he should not have done so, as he was commander of the ship ; but as he was a man, and nature moved him, he could not bear it. As for the rest of the men, they

were not subject to me at all, and they knew it well enough ; so they took no notice of my dislike.

The next day we set sail, so we never heard any more of it. Our men differed in the account of the number they had killed ; but according to the best of their accounts, put all together, they killed or destroyed about one hundred and fifty people, men, women, and children, and left not a house standing in the town. As for the poor fellow Tom Jeffry, as he was quite dead (for his throat was so cut that his head was half off), it would do him no service to bring him away ; so they only took him down from the tree, where he was hanging by one hand.

However just our men thought this action, I was against them in it, and I always after that time told them God would blast the voyage ; for I looked upon all the blood they shed that night to be murder in them ; for though it is true that they had killed Tom Jeffry, yet Jeffry was the aggressor, had broken the truce, and had violated or debauched a young woman of theirs, who came down to them innocently, and on the faith of the public capitulation.

The boatswain defended this quarrel when we were afterwards on board. He said it was true that we seemed to break the truce, but really had not ; and that the war was begun the night before by the natives themselves, who had shot at us, and killed one of our men without any just provocation ; so that as we were in a capacity to fight them now, we might also be in a capacity to do ourselves justice

upon them in an extraordinary manner ; that though the poor man had taken a little liberty with the wench, he ought not to have been murdered, and that in such a villanous manner ; and that they did nothing but what was just, and what the laws of God allowed to be done to murderers.

One would think this should have been enough to have warned us against going on shore among heathens and barbarians : but it is impossible to make mankind wise but at their own expense ; and their experience seems to be always of most use to them when it is dearest bought.

We were now bound to the Gulf of Persia, and from thence to the coast of Coromandel, only to touch at Surat ; but the chief of the supercargo's design lay at the Bay of Bengal ; where if he missed his business outward-bound, he was to go up to China, and return to the coast as he came home.

The first disaster that befel us was in the Gulf of Persia, where five of our men, venturing on shore on the Arabian side of the gulf, were surrounded by the Arabians, and either all killed or carried away into slavery : the rest of the boat's crew were not able to rescue them, and had but just time to get off their boat. I began to upbraid them with the just retribution of Heaven in this case ; but the boatswain very warmly told me he thought I went farther in my censures than I could show any warrant for in Scripture ; and referred to Luke xiii. 4, where our Saviour intimates that those men on whom the tower of Siloam fell were not sinners above all

the Galileans. But that which put me to silence in the case was that not one of these five men who were now lost were of those who went on shore to the massacre of Madagascar, so I always called it, though our men could not bear the word "massacre" with any patience.

But my frequent preaching to them on the subject had worse consequences than I expected; and the boatswain, who had been the head of the attempt, came up boldly to me one time, and told me he found that I brought that affair continually upon the stage; that I made unjust reflections upon it, and had used the men very ill on that account, and himself in particular; that as I was but a passenger, and had no command in the ship, or concern in the voyage, they were not obliged to bear it; that they did not know but that I might have some ill design in my head, and perhaps to call them to account for it when they came to England; and that, therefore, unless I would resolve to have done with it, and also not to concern myself any farther with him, or any of his affairs, he would leave the ship; for he did not think it was safe to sail with me among them.

I heard him patiently enough till he had done, and then told him that I confessed I had all along opposed the massacre of Madagascar, and that I had, on all occasions, spoken my mind freely about it, though not more upon him than any of the rest; that as to having no command in the ship, that was true; nor did I exercise any authority, only took the

liberty of speaking my mind in things which publicly concerned us all ; and what concern I had in the voyage was none of his business ; that I was a considerable owner in the ship ; in that claim, I conceived I had a right to speak even farther than I had done, and would not be accountable to him or any one else ; and began to be a little warm with him. He made but little reply to me at that time, and I thought the affair had been over. We were at this time in the road at Bengal ; and being willing to see the place, I went on shore with the supercargo, in the ship's boat, to divert myself ; and towards evening was preparing to go on board, when one of the men came to me, and told me he would not have me trouble myself to come down to the boat, for they had orders not to carry me on board any more. Any one may guess what a surprise I was in at so insolent a message ; and I asked the man who bade him deliver that message to me ? He told me, the cockswain. I said no more to the fellow, but bade him let them know he had delivered his message, and that I had given him no answer to it.

I immediately went and found out the supercargo, and told him the story ; adding, which I presently foresaw, that there would be a mutiny in the ship ; and entreated him to go immediately on board the ship in an Indian boat, and acquaint the captain of it. But I might have spared this intelligence, for before I had spoken to him on shore the matter was effected on board. The boatswain, the gunner, the carpenter, and all the inferior of-



ficers, as soon as I was gone off in the boat, came up, and desired to speak with the captain ; and there the boatswain, making a long harangue, and repeating all he had said to me, told the captain, in a few words, that as I was now gone peaceably on shore, they were loath to use any violence with me, which, if I had not gone on shore, they would otherwise have done, to oblige me to have gone ; they therefore thought fit to tell him that, as they shipped themselves to serve the ship under his command, they would perform it well and faithfully ; but if I would not quit the ship, or the captain oblige me to quit it, they would all leave the ship, and sail no farther with him ; and at that word "all," he turned his face towards the main-mast, which was, it seems, the signal agreed on between them, at which all the seamen, being got together there, cried out, "One and all ! one and all !"

My nephew, the captain, was a man of spirit, and of great presence of mind ; and though he was surprised, you may be sure, at the thing, yet he told them calmly that he would consider of the matter ; but that he could do nothing in it till he had spoken to me about it. He used some arguments with them to show them the unreasonableness and injustice of the thing : but it was all in vain ; they swore and shook hands round before his face that they would all go on shore, unless he would engage to them not to suffer me to come any more on board the ship.

This was a hard article upon him, who knew his obligation to me, and did not know how I might take it: so he began to talk smartly to them; told them that I was a very considerable owner of the ship, and that, in justice, he could not put me out of my own house; that this was next door to serving me as the famous pirate Kidd had done, who made a mutiny on the ship, set the captain on shore on an uninhabited island, and ran away with the ship; that let them go into what ship they would, if ever they came to England again it would cost them very dear; that the ship was mine, and that he could not put me out of it; and that he would rather lose the ship and the voyage too than disoblige me so much; so they might do as they pleased: however, he would go on shore and talk with me, and invited the boatswain to go with him, and perhaps they might accommodate the matter with me. But they all rejected the proposal, and said they would have nothing to do with me any more; and if I came on board, they would all go on shore. "Well," said the captain, "if you are all of this mind, let me go on shore and talk with him." So away he came to me with this account, a little after the message had been brought to me from the coxswain.

I was very glad to see my nephew, I must confess; for I was not without apprehensions that they would confine him by violence, set sail, and run away with the ship; and then I had been stripped naked in a remote country, having nothing to help

myself: in short, I had been in a worse case than when I was alone in the island. But they had not come up to that length, it seems, to my satisfaction; and when my nephew told me what they had said to him, and how they had sworn and shook hands that they would, one and all, leave the ship if I was suffered to come on board, I told him he should not be concerned at it at all, for I would stay on shore; I only desired he would take care and send me all my necessary things on shore, and leave me a sufficient sum of money, and I would find my way back to England as well as I could.

This was a heavy piece of news to my nephew, but there was no way to help it but to comply; so, in short, he went on board the ship again, and satisfied the men that his uncle had yielded to their importunity, and had sent for his goods from on board the ship; so that the matter was over in a few hours, the men returned to their duty, and I began to consider what course I should steer.

### CHAPTER XIII

**I** WAS now alone in the most remote part of the world, as I think I may call it, for I was near three thousand leagues by sea farther off from England than I was at my island; only, it is true, I might travel here by land over the Great Mogul's country to Surat, might go from thence to Bassora by sea up the Gulf of Persia, and take the way of the caravans, over the Desert of Arabia, to Aleppo and Scanderoon; from thence by sea again to Italy, and so overland into France; and this put together might at least be a full diameter of the globe, or more.

I had another way before me, which was to wait for some English ships, which were coming to Bengal from Achin, on the Island of Sumatra, and get passage on board them for England. But as I came hither without any concern with the English East India Company, so it would be difficult to go from hence without their licence, unless with great favour of the captains of the ships, or the Company's factors, and to both I was an utter stranger.

Here I had the mortification to see the ship set sail without me; a treatment I think a man in my circumstances scarce ever met with, except from pirates running away with the ship, and setting those that would not agree with their villainy on shore. Indeed, this was next door to it, both ways; however, my nephew left me to servants, or rather one companion and one servant; the first was clerk to the purser, whom he engaged to go with me, and the other was his own servant. I took me also a good lodging in the house of an Englishwoman, where several merchants lodged, some French, two Italians, or rather Jews, and one Englishman; here I was handsomely enough entertained: and that I might not be said to run rashly upon anything, I stayed here above nine months considering what course to take, and how to manage myself. I had some English goods with me of value, and a considerable sum of money; my nephew furnishing me with a thousand pieces-of-eight, and a letter of credit for more, if I had occasion, that I might not be straitened, whatever might happen.

I quickly disposed of my goods to advantage, and, as I originally intended, I bought here some very good diamonds, which, of all other things, were the most proper for me, in my present circumstances; because I could always carry my whole estate about me.

After a long stay here, and many proposals made for my return to England, but none falling out to my mind, the English merchant who lodged

with me, and whom I had contracted an intimate acquaintance with, came to me one morning. "Countryman," says he, "I have a project to communicate to you, which, as it suits with my thoughts, may, for aught I know, suit with yours also, when you shall have thoroughly considered it. Here we are posted, you by accident, and I by my own choice, in a part of the world very remote from our own country; but it is in a country where, by us who understand trade and business, a great deal of money is to be got. If you will put one thousand pounds to my one thousand pounds, we will hire a ship here, the first we can get to our minds; you shall be captain, I'll be merchant, and we'll go a trading voyage to China: for what should we stand still for? The whole world is in motion, rolling round and round; all the creatures of God, heavenly bodies and earthly, are busy and diligent: why should we be idle? There are no drones in the world but men; why should we be of that number?"

I liked this proposal very well, and the more because it seemed to be expressed with so much good will, and in so friendly a manner. I will not say but that I might, by my loose unhinged circumstances, be the fitter to embrace a proposal for trade, or indeed anything else; whereas, otherwise, trade was none of my element. However, I might perhaps say, with some truth, that, if trade was not my element, rambling was, and no proposal for seeing any part of the world which I had never seen before could possibly come amiss to me.

It was, however, some time before we could get a ship to our minds, and when we had got a vessel, it was not easy to get English sailors; that is to say, so many as were necessary to govern the voyage and manage the sailors which we should pick up there. After some time we got a mate, a boatswain, and a gunner, English: a Dutch carpenter, and three Portuguese foremastmen. With these we found we could do well enough, having Indian seamen, such as they were, to make up.

There are so many travellers who have wrote the history of their voyages and travels this way, that it would be very little diversion to anybody to give a long account of the places we went to, and the people who inhabit there: these things I leave to others, and refer the reader to those journals and travels of Englishmen, of which many, I find, are published and more promised every day; it is enough for me to tell you that we made this voyage to Achin, in the Island of Sumatra, and from thence to Siam, where we exchanged some of our wares for opium and some arrack; the first a commodity which bears a great price among the Chinese, and which, at that time, was much wanted there. In a word, we went up to Suskan, made a very great voyage, were eight months out, and returned to Bengal; and I was very well satisfied with my adventure. I observe that our people in England often admire how officers which the Company send into India, and the merchants which generally stay there, get such very great estates as they do, and

sometimes come home worth sixty or seventy thousand pounds at a time. But it is no wonder, or at least we shall see so much farther into it, when we consider the innumerable ports and places where they have a free commerce, that it will be none; and much less will it be so when we consider that at those places and ports where the English ships come there is such great and constant demand for the growth of all other countries that there is a certain vent for the returns, as well as a market abroad for the goods carried out.

In short, we made a very good voyage, and I got so much money by my first adventure, and such an insight into the method of getting more, that had I been twenty years younger I should have been tempted to have stayed here, and sought no farther for making any fortune: but what was all this to a man upwards of threescore, that was rich enough, and came abroad more in obedience to a restless desire of seeing the world than a covetous desire of gaining by it? And, indeed, I think it is with great justice I now call it restless desire, for it was so. When I was at home, I was restless to go abroad; and when I was abroad, I was restless to be at home. I say, what was this gain to me? I was rich enough already, nor had I any uneasy desires about getting more money; and therefore the profit of the voyage to me was of no great force for the prompting me forward to farther undertakings; hence I thought that by this voyage I had made no progress at all, because I was come back,



as I might call it, to the place from whence I came, as to a home : whereas my eye, which, like that which Solomon speaks of, was never satisfied with seeing, was still desirous of wandering and seeing more. I was come into a part of the world which I was never in before, and that part, in particular, which I had heard much of, and was resolved to see as much of it as I could ; and then I thought I might say I had seen all the world that was worth seeing.

But my fellow-traveller and I had different notions: I do not name this to insist on my own, for I acknowledge his were the most just and the most suited to the end of a merchant's life ; who, when he is abroad upon adventures, it is his wisdom to stick to that, as the best thing for him, which he is like to get the most money by. My new friend kept himself to the nature of the thing, and would have been content to have gone like a carrier's horse, always to the same inn, backward and forward, provided he could, as he called it, find his account in it. On the other hand, mine was the notion of a mad rambling boy, that never cares to see a thing twice over. But this was not all: I had a kind of impatience upon me to be nearer home, and yet the most unsettled resolution imaginable which way to go. In the interval of these consultations, my friend, who was always upon the search for business, proposed another voyage to me among the Spice Islands, and to bring home a loading of cloves from the Manillas, or thereabouts;

places, indeed, where the Dutch trade, but islands belonging partly to Spaniards; though we went not so far, but to some other, where they have not the whole power, as they have at Batavia, Ceylon, etc.

We were not long in preparing for this voyage; the chief difficulty was in bringing me to come into it: however, at last, nothing else offering, and finding that really stirring about and trading, the profit being so great, and, as I may say, certain, had more pleasure in it, and had more satisfaction to my mind, than sitting still, which, to me especially, was the unhappiest part of my life, I resolved on this voyage too, which we made very successfully, touching at Borneo and several islands whose names I do not remember, and came home in about five months. We sold our spice, which was chiefly cloves and some nutmegs, to the Persian merchants, who carried them away to the Gulf; and making near five of one, we really got a great deal of money.

My friend, when we made up this account, smiled at me: "Well now," said he, with a sort of agreeable insult upon my indolent temper, "is not this better than walking about here, like a man of nothing to do, and spending our time in staring at the nonsense and ignorance of the Pagans?" "Why, truly," says I, "my friend, I think it is, and I begin to be a convert to the principles of merchandising; but I must tell you," said I, "by the way, you do not know what I am doing; for if I once conquer my backwardness, and embark heartily, as old as I am, I shall harass you up and

down the world till I tire you; for I shall pursue it so eagerly, I shall never let you lie still."

But, to be short with my speculations, a little while after this there came in a Dutch ship from Batavia; she was a coaster, not an European trader, of about two hundred tons burthen; the men, as they pretended, having been so sickly that the captain had not hands enough to go to sea with, he lay by at Bengal; and having, it seems, got money enough, or being willing, for other reasons, to go for Europe, he gave public notice he would sell his ship. This came to my ears before my new partner heard of it, and I had a great mind to buy it; so I went to him and told him of it. He considered awhile, for he was no rash man neither; but musing some time, he replied, "She is a little too big; but, however, we will have her." Accordingly, we bought the ship, and agreeing with the master, we paid for her and took possession. When we had done so, we resolved to entertain the men, if we could, to join them with those we had, for the pursuing our business; but on a sudden, they having received, not their wages, but their share of the money, as we afterwards learned, not one of them was to be found; we inquired much about them, and at length were told that they were all gone together by land to Agra, the great city of the Mogul's residence, and from thence were to travel to Surat, and go by sea to the Gulf of Persia.

Nothing had so much troubled me a good while as that I should miss the opportunity of going

with them, for such a ramble, I thought, and in such company as would both have guarded and diverted me, would have suited mightily with my great design; and I should have both seen the world and gone homewards too. But I was much better satisfied a few days after, when I came to know what sort of fellows they were; for, in short, their history was, that this man they called captain was the gunner only, not the commander; that they had been a trading voyage, in which they had been attacked on shore by some of the Malays, who had killed the captain and three of his men; and that after the captain was killed, these men, eleven in number, had resolved to run away with the ship, which they did, and brought her to Bengal, leaving the mate and five men more on shore, of whom hereafter.

Well, let them get the ship how they would, we came honestly by her, as we thought, though we did not, I confess, examine into things so exactly as we ought; for we never inquired anything of the seamen, who would certainly have faltered in their account, contradicted one another, and perhaps contradicted themselves; or one how or other we should have had reason to have suspected them: but the man showed us a bill of sale of the ship, to one Emanuel Clostershoven, or some such name, for I suppose it was all a forgery, and called himself by that name, and we could not contradict him; and withal, having no suspicion of the thing, we went through with our bargain.

We picked up some more English sailors here after this, and some Dutch; and we resolved for a second voyage to the south-east for cloves, etc., that is to say among the Philippine and Molucca isles; and, in short, not to fill up this part of my story with trifles when what is to come is so remarkable, I spent, from first to last, six years in this country, trading from port to port, backward and forward, and with very good success, and was now the last year with my new partner, going in the ship abovementioned, on a voyage to China, but designing first to Siam, to buy rice.

In this voyage, being by contrary winds obliged to beat up and down a great while in the Straits of Malacca, and among the islands, we were no sooner got clear of those difficult seas than we found our ship had sprung a leak, and we were not able, by all our industry, to find out where it was. This forced us to make some port; and my partner, who knew the country better than I did, directed the captain to put into the river of Cambodia; for I had made the English mate, one Mr. Thompson, captain, not being willing to take the charge of the ship upon myself. This river lies on the north side of the great bay or gulf which goes up to Siam. While we were here, and going often on shore for refreshment, there comes to me one day, an Englishman, and he was, it seems, a gunner's-mate on board an English East India ship which rode in the same river, at or near the city of Cambodia; what brought him hither we knew not; but he

comes to me, and speaking English, "Sir," says he, "you are a stranger to me, and I to you, but I have something to tell you that very nearly concerns you."

I looked steadfastly at him a good while, and thought at first I had known him, but I did not: "If it very nearly concerns me," said I, "and not yourself, what moves you to tell it to me?" "I am moved," says he, "by the imminent danger you are in, and, for aught I see, you have no knowledge of it." "I know no danger I am in," says I, "but that my ship is leaky, and I cannot find it out; but I intend to lay her aground to-morrow, to see if I can find it." "But, sir," says he, "leaky or not leaky, find it or not find it, you will be wiser than to lay your ship on shore to-morrow when you hear what I have to say to you: do you know, sir," said he, "the town of Cambodia lies about fifteen leagues up this river? And there are two large English ships about five leagues on this side, and three Dutch." "Well," said I, "and what is that to me?" "Why, sir," said he, "is it for a man that is upon such adventures as you are, to come into a port and not examine first what ships there are there, and whether he is able to deal with them? I suppose you do not think you are a match for them?" I was amused very much at his discourse, but not amazed at it, for I could not conceive what he meant; and I turned short upon him and said, "Sir, I wish you would explain yourself; I cannot imagine what reason I have to be afraid

of any of the Company's ships, or Dutch ships; I am no interloper; what can they have to say to me?" He looked like a man half-angry and half-pleased, and pausing a while, but smiling, "Well, sir," says he, "if you think yourself secure, you must take your chance; I am sorry your fate should bind you against good advice: but assure yourself, if you do not put to sea immediately, you will the very next tide be attacked by five long-boats full of men, and perhaps, if you are taken, you will be hanged for a pirate, and the particulars be examined afterwards. I thought, sir," added he, "I should have met with a better reception than this, for doing you a piece of service of such importance." "I can never be ungrateful," said I, "for any service, or to any man that offers me any kindness; but it is past my comprehension what they should have such a design upon me for: however, since you say there is no time to be lost, and that there is some villainous design on hand against me, I will go on board this minute, and put to sea immediately, if my men can stop the leak, or if we can swim without stopping it: but, sir," said I, "shall I go away ignorant of the cause of all this? Can you give me no further light into it?" "I can tell you but part of the story, sir," says he; "but I have a Dutch seaman here with me, and I believe I could persuade him to tell you the rest; but there is scarce time for it: but the short of the story is this, the first part of which, I suppose, you know

well enough, viz., that you was with this ship at Sumatra; that there your captain was murdered by the Malays, with three of his men; and that you, or some of those who were on board with you, ran away with the ship, and are since turned pirates. This is the sum of the story, and you will all be seized as pirates, I can assure you, and executed with very little ceremony; for you know merchant ships show but little law to pirates, if they get them into their power." "Now you speak plain English," said I, "and I thank you; and though I know nothing that we have done like what you talk of, for I am sure we came honestly and fairly by the ship; yet seeing such a work is doing as you say, and that you seem to mean honestly, I will be upon my guard." "Nay, sir," says he, "do not talk about being upon your guard; the best defence is, to be out of the danger; if you have any regard for your life, and the lives of all your men, put to sea, without fail, at high water; and as you have a whole tide before you, you will be gone too far out before they can come down; for they will come away at high water, and as they have twenty miles to come, you will get near two hours of them by the difference of the tide, not reckoning the length of the way; besides, as they are only boats, and not ships, they will not venture to follow you far out to sea, especially if it blows." "Well," said I, "you have been very kind in this; what shall I do for you to make you amends?" "Sir," says he, "you may not be willing



to make me any amends, because you may not be convinced of the truth of it: I will make an offer to you; I have nineteen months' pay due to me on board the ship ——, which I came out of England in; and the Dutchman that is with me has seven months' pay due to him; if you will make good our pay to us, we will go along with you: if you find nothing more in it, we will desire no more; but if we do convince you that we have saved your lives, and the ship, and the lives of all the men in her, we will leave the rest to you."

I consented to this readily, and went immediately on board, and the two men with me. As soon as I came to the ship's side, my partner, who was on board, came out on the quarter-deck, and called to me, and with a great deal of joy, "O ho! O ho! we have stopped the leak! we have stopped the leak!" "Say you so?" said I, "thank God; but weigh anchor then immediately." "Weigh!" says he: "what do you mean by that? What is the matter?" "Ask no questions," said I; "but all hands to work, and weigh without losing a minute." He was surprised, but, however, he called the captain, and he immediately ordered the anchor to be got up; and though the tide was not quite down, yet, a little land breeze blowing, we stood out to sea. Then I called him into the cabin, and told him the story; and we called in the men, and they told us the rest of it: but as it took up a great deal of time, before we had done a seaman comes to the cabin door, and called out to us that the cap-

tain bade him tell us we were chased. "Chased!" says I; "by what?" "By five sloops, or boats," says the fellow, "full of men." "Very well," said I; "then it is apparent there is something in it." In the next place I ordered all our men to be called up, and told them there was a design to seize the ship, and to take us for pirates, and asked them if they would stand by us, and by one another: the men answered cheerfully, one and all, that they would live and die with us. Then I asked the captain what way he thought best for us to manage a fight with them; for resist them I was resolved we would, and that to the last drop. He said readily that the way was to keep them off with our great shot as long as we could, and then fire at them with our small-arms, to keep them from boarding us; but when neither of these would do any longer, we should retire to our close quarters; perhaps they had not materials to break open our bulk-heads, or get in upon us.

The gunner had, in the mean time, orders to bring two guns to bear fore and aft, out of the steerage, to clear the deck, and load them with musket bullets and small pieces of old iron, and what came next to hand; and thus we made ready for fight. But all this while we kept out to sea, with wind enough, and could see the boats at a distance, being five large long-boats, following us with all the sail they could make.

Two of those boats (which by our glasses we could see were English) out-sailed the rest, and were

near two leagues ahead of them, and gained upon us considerably, so that we found they would come up with us ; upon which we fired a gun without ball, to intimate that they should bring to, and we put out a flag of truce, as a signal for parley ; but they came crowding after us, till they came within shot, when we took in our white flag, they having made no answer to it, and hung out a red flag, and fired at them with shot. Notwithstanding this, they came on till they were near enough to call to them with a speaking-trumpet which we had on board ; so we called to them, and bade them keep off, at their peril.

It was all one : they crowded after us, and endeavoured to come under our stern, so as to board us on our quarter ; upon which, seeing they were resolute for mischief, and depended upon the strength that followed them, I ordered to bring the ship to, so that they lay upon our broadside ; when immediately we fired five guns at them, one of which had been levelled so true as to carry away the stern of the hindermost boat, and bring them to the necessity of taking down their sail, and running all to the head of the boat to keep her from sinking ; so she lay by, and had enough of it ; but seeing the foremost boat crowd on after us, we made ready to fire at her in particular. While this was doing, one of the three boats that was behind, being forwarder than the other two, made up to the boat which we had disabled, to relieve her, and we could see her take out the men ; we called again

to the foremost boat, and offered a truce, to parley again, and to know what her business was with us ; but had no answer, only she crowded close under our stern. Upon this our gunner, who was a very dexterous fellow, run out his two chase-guns, and fired again at her, but the shot missing, the men in the boat shouted, waved their caps, and came on ; but the gunner, getting quickly ready again, fired among them a second time, one shot of which, though it missed the boat itself, yet fell in among the men, and we could easily see had done a great deal of mischief among them. But we took no notice of that, wore the ship again, and brought our quarter to bear upon them, and firing three guns more, we found the boat was almost split to pieces ; in particular, her rudder and a piece of her stern was shot quite away ; so they handed her sail immediately, and were in great disorder. But to complete their misfortune, our gunner let fly two guns at them again : where he hit them we could not tell, but we found the boat was sinking, and some of the men already in the water : upon this, I immediately manned out our pinnace, which we had kept close by our side, with orders to pick up some of the men, if they could, and save them from drowning, and immediately come on board the ship with them, because we saw the rest of the boats began to come up. Our men in the pinnace followed their orders and took up three men, one of whom was just drowning, and it was a good while before we could recover him. As soon as they were

on board, we crowded all the sail we could make, and stood farther out to sea ; and we found that when the other three boats came up to the first, they gave over their chase.

Being thus delivered from a danger, which, though I knew not the reason of it, yet seemed to be much greater than I apprehended, I resolved that we should change our course, and not let any one know whither we were going : so we stood out to sea eastward, quite out of the course of all European ships, whether they were bound to China or anywhere else within the commerce of the European nations.

When we were at sea, we began to consult with the two seamen, and inquire what the meaning of all this should be ; and the Dutchman let us into the secret at once, telling us that the fellow that sold us the ship, as we said, was no more than a thief that had run away with her. Then he told us how the captain, whose name too he told us, though I do not remember it now, was treacherously murdered by the natives on the coast of Malacca, with three of his men ; and that he, this Dutchman, and four more, got into the woods, where they wandered about a great while, till at length he, in particular, in a miraculous manner, made his escape, and swam off to a Dutch ship, which, sailing near the shore in its way from China, had sent their boat on shore for fresh water ; that he durst not come to that part of the shore where the boat was, but made shift in the night to take the water farther

off, and swimming a great while, at last the ship's boat took him up.

He then told us that he went to Batavia, where two of the seamen belonging to the ship arrived, having deserted the rest in their travels, and gave an account that the fellow who had run away with the ship sold her at Bengal to a set of pirates, which were gone a-cruising in her ; and that they had already taken an English ship and two Dutch ships very richly laden.

This latter part was found to concern us directly, though we knew it to be false ; yet, as my partner said, very justly, if we had fallen into their hands, and they had had such a prepossession against us beforehand, it had been in vain for us to have defended ourselves, or to hope for any good quarter at their hands ; and especially considering that our accusers had been our judges, and that we could have expected nothing from them but what rage would have dictated, and an ungoverned passion have executed ; and therefore it was his opinion we should go directly back to Bengal, from whence we came, without putting in at any port whatever ; because there we could give a good account of ourselves, could prove where we were when the ship put in, of whom we bought her, and the like ; and, which was more than all the rest, if we were put upon the necessity of bringing it before the proper judges, we should be sure to have some justice, and not be hanged first and judged afterwards.

I was sometime of my partner's opinion ; but after

a little more serious thinking, I told him I thought it was a very great hazard for us to attempt returning to Bengal, for that we were on the wrong side of the Straits of Malacca, and that if the alarm was given, we should be sure to be waylaid on every side, as well by the Dutch of Batavia as the English elsewhere; that if we should be taken, as it were, running away, we should even condemn ourselves, and there would want no more evidence to destroy us. I also asked the English sailor's opinion, who said he was of my mind, and that we should certainly be taken. This danger a little startled my partner, and all the ship's company, and we immediately resolved to go away to the coast of Tonquin, and so on to the coast of China; and pursuing the first design as to trade, find some way or other to dispose of the ship, and come back in some of the vessels of the country, such as we could get. This was approved of as the best method for our security; and accordingly we steered away NNE., keeping above fifty leagues off from the usual course to the eastward. This, however, put us to some inconvenience; for, first, the winds, when we came to that distance from the shore, seemed to be more steadily against us, blowing almost trade, as we call it, from the E. and ENE., so that we were a long while upon our voyage, and we were but ill provided with victuals for so long a run; and, which was still worse, there was some danger that those English and Dutch ships, whose boats pursued us, whereof some were

bound that way, might be got in before us, and, if not, some other ship bound to China might have information of us from them, and pursue us with the same vigour.

I must confess, I was now very uneasy, and thought myself, including the late escape from the long-boats, to have been in the most dangerous condition that ever I was through my past life; for whatever ill circumstances I had been in, I was never pursued for a thief before; nor had I ever done anything that merited the name of dishonest or fraudulent, much less thievish; I had chiefly been my own enemy, or, as I may rightly say, I had been nobody's enemy but my own; but now I was embarrassed in the worst condition imaginable; for though I was perfectly innocent, I was in no condition to make that innocence appear; and if I had been taken, it had been under a supposed guilt of the worst kind. This made me very anxious to make an escape, though which way to do it I knew not, or what port or place we could go to. My partner seeing me thus dejected, though he was the most concerned at first, began to encourage me, and describing to me the several ports of that coast, told me he would put in on the coast of Cochin China, or the Bay of Tonquin, intending to go afterwards to Macao, a town once in possession of the Portuguese, and where still a great many European families resided; and particularly the missionary priests usually went thither, in order to their going forward to China.



Hither then we resolved to go; and accordingly, though after a tedious and irregular course, and very much straitened for provisions, we came within sight of the coast very early in the morning; and upon reflection on the past circumstances we were in, and the danger if we had not escaped, we resolved to put into a small river, which, however, had depth enough of water for us, and to see if we could, either overland or by the ship's pinnace, come to know what ships were in any port thereabouts. This happy step was, indeed, our deliverance; for though we did not immediately see any European ships in the Bay of Tonquin, yet the next morning there came into the bay two Dutch ships; and a third, without any colours spread out, but which we believed to be a Dutchman, passed by at about two leagues' distance, steering for the coast of China; and in the afternoon went by two English ships steering the same course; and thus we thought we saw ourselves beset with enemies both one way and the other. The place we were in was wild and barbarous; the people thieves, even by occupation or profession; and though, it is true, we had not much to seek of them, and, except getting a few provisions, cared not how little we had to do with them, yet it was with much difficulty that we kept ourselves from being insulted by them, several ways. We were in a small river of this country, within a few leagues of its utmost limits northward; and by our boat we coasted north-east, to the point of land which opens the great Bay

of Tonquin; and it was in this beating up along the shore that we discovered we were surrounded with enemies. The people we were among were the most barbarous of all the inhabitants of the coast, having no correspondence with any other nation, and dealing only in fish and oil, and such gross commodities; and it may be particularly seen that they are the most barbarous of any of the inhabitants. Among other customs, they have this one, viz., that if any vessel has the misfortune to be shipwrecked upon their coast, they presently make the men all prisoners or slaves; and it was not long before we found a piece of their kindness this way, on the occasion following.

I have observed above that our ship sprung a leak at sea, and that we could not find it out; and it happened that, as I have said, it was stopped unexpectedly in the happy minute of our being to be seized by the Dutch and English ships in the Bay of Siam; yet as we did not find the ship so perfectly tight and sound as we desired, we resolved, while we were at this place, to lay her on shore, and take out what heavy things we had on board, and clean her bottom; and, if possible, to find out where the leaks were. Accordingly, having lightened the ship, and brought all our guns and other moveables to one side, we tried to bring her down, that we might come at her bottom; but, on second thoughts, we did not care to lay her on dry ground, neither could we find out a proper place for it.

The inhabitants, who had never been acquainted

with such a sight, came wandering down to the shore to look at us; and seeing the ship lie down on one side in such a manner, and heeling in towards the shore, and not seeing our men, who were at work on her bottom with stages, and with their boats, on the off-side, they presently concluded that the ship was cast away, and so lay fast on the ground. On this supposition, they all came about us in two or three hours' time, with ten or twelve large boats, having some of them eight, some ten men in a boat, intending, no doubt, to have come on board and plundered the ship; and if they had found us there, to have carried us away for slaves to their king, or whatever they call him, for we knew nothing of their governor.

When they came up to the ship and began to row round her, they discovered us all hard at work on the outside of the ship's bottom and side, washing, and graving, and stopping, as every seafaring man knows how. They stood for a while gazing at us, and we, who were a little surprised, could not imagine what their design was; but being willing to be sure, we took this opportunity to get some of us into the ship, and others to hand down arms and ammunition to those that were at work, to defend themselves with, if there should be occasion; and it was no more than need: for in less than a quarter of an hour's consultation, they agreed, it seems, that the ship was really a wreck; and that we were all at work endeavouring to save her, or to save our lives by the help of our boats;

and when we handed our guns into the boats, they concluded by that motion that we were endeavouring to save some of our goods; upon this they took it for granted we all belonged to them, and away they came directly upon our men, as if it had been in a line of battle.

Our men, seeing so many of them, began to be frightened, for we lay but in an ill posture to fight, and cried out to us to know what they should do. I immediately called to the men that worked upon the stages to slip them down, and get up the side into the ship; and bade those in the boat to row round, and come on board; and those few of us who were on board worked with all the strength and hands we had, to bring the ship to rights; but, however, neither the men upon the stages nor those in the boats could do as they were ordered, before the Cochin Chinese were upon them; and two of their boats boarded our long-boat, and began to lay hold on the men as their prisoners.

The first man they laid hold on was an English seaman, a stout, strong fellow, who, having a musket in his hand, never offered to fire it, but laid it down in the boat, like a fool, as I thought; but he understood his business better than I could teach him, for he grappled the pagan, and dragged him by main force out of their boat into ours, where taking him by the ears, he beat his head so against the boat's gunnel, that the fellow died in his hands; and, in the mean time, a Dutchman, who stood next, took up the musket, and with the butt-end

of it so laid about him that he knocked down five of them who attempted to enter the boat. But this was doing little towards resisting thirty or forty men, who fearless, because ignorant of their danger, began to throw themselves into the long-boat, where we had but five men in all to defend it; but the following accident, which deserved our laughter, gave our men a complete victory.

Our carpenter being prepared to grave the outside of the ship, as well as to pay the seams where he had calked her to stop the leaks, had got two kettles just let down into the boat, one filled with boiling pitch, and the other with rosin, tallow, and oil, and such stuff as the shipwrights use for that work; and the man that attended the carpenter had a great iron ladle in his hand, with which he supplied the men that were at work with the hot stuff: two of the enemy's men entered the boat just where this fellow stood, being in the fore-sheets; he immediately saluted them with a ladleful of the stuff, boiling hot, which so burned and scalded them, being half-naked, that they roared out like bulls, and, enraged with the fire, leaped both into the sea. The carpenter saw it, and cried out, "Well done, Jack! give them some more of it": and stepping forward himself, takes one of the mops, and dipping it in the pitch-pot, he and his man threw it among them so plentifully that, in short, of all the men in the three boats there was not one that escaped being scalded and burned with it, in a most frightful, pitiful manner, and made such a howling and crying

that I never heard a worse noise : for it is worth observing that, though pain naturally makes all people cry out, yet every nation has a particular way of exclamation, and makes noises as different from one another as their speech. I cannot give the noise these creatures made a better name than howling, nor a name more proper to the tone of it; for I never heard anything more like the noise of the wolves, which, as I have said, I heard howl in the forest on the frontiers of Languedoc.

I was never better pleased with a victory in my life; not only as it was a perfect surprise to me, and that our danger was imminent before, but, as we got this victory without any bloodshed, except of that man the fellow killed with his naked hands, and which I was very much concerned at, for I was sick of killing such poor savage wretches, even though it was in my own defence, knowing they came on errands which they thought just and knew no better; and that though it may be a just thing, because necessary (for there is no necessary wickedness in nature), yet I thought it was a sad life, when we must be always obliged to be killing our fellow-creatures to preserve ourselves; and, indeed, I think so still, and I would even now suffer a great deal, rather than I would take away the life even of the worst person injuring me; and I believe all considering people who know the value of life would be of my opinion, if they entered seriously into the consideration of it.

But to return to my story. All the while this

was doing, my partner and I, who managed the rest of the men on board, had with great dexterity brought the ship almost to rights, and having got the guns into their places again, the gunner called to me to bid our boat get out of the way, for he would let fly among them. I called back again to him, and bid him not offer to fire, for the carpenter would do the work without him; but bid him heat another pitch-kettle, which our cook, who was on board, took care of. But the enemy was so terrified with what they had met with in their first attack that they would not come on again; and some of them who were farthest off, seeing the ship swim, as it were, upright, began, as we suppose, to see their mistake, and give over the enterprise, finding it was not as they expected. Thus we got clear of this merry fight, and having got some rice, and some roots and bread, with about sixteen hogs, on board, two days before, we resolved to stay here no longer, but go forward, whatever came of it; for we made no doubt but we should be surrounded the next day with rogues enough, perhaps more than our pitch-kettle would dispose of for us. We therefore got all our things on board the same evening, and the next morning were ready to sail: in the mean time, lying at anchor at some distance from the shore, we were not so much concerned, being now in a fighting posture, as well as in a sailing posture, if any enemy had presented. The next day, having finished our work within board, and finding our ship was perfectly healed of all her leaks,

we set sail. We would have gone into the Bay of Tonquin, for we wanted to inform ourselves of what was to be known concerning the Dutch ships that had been there; but we durst not stand in there, because we had seen several ships go in, as we supposed, but a little before: so we kept on northeast, towards the Island of Formosa, as much afraid of being seen by a Dutch or English merchant ship, as a Dutch or English merchant ship in the Mediterranean is of an Algerine man-of-war.

When we were thus got to sea, we kept on northeast as if we would go to the Manillas or the Philippine Islands, and this we did that we might not fall into the way of any of the European ships; and then we steered north, till we came to the latitude of 22 degrees, 30 minutes, by which means we made the Island Formosa directly, where we came to an anchor, in order to get water and fresh provisions, which the people there, who were very courteous and civil in their manners, supplied us with willingly, and dealt very fairly and punctually with us in all their agreements and bargains, which is what we did not find among other people, and may be owing to the remains of Christianity which was once planted here by a Dutch missionary of Protestants, and is a testimony of what I have often observed, viz., the Christian religion always civilizes the people and reforms their manners, where it is received, whether it works saving effects upon them or no.

From thence we sailed still north, keeping the



coast of China at an equal distance, till we knew we were beyond all the ports of China where our European ships usually come; being resolved, if possible, not to fall into any of their hands, especially in this country; where, as our circumstances were, we could not fail of being entirely ruined.

Being now come to the latitude of thirty degrees, we resolved to put into the first trading port we should come at; and standing in for the shore, a boat came off two leagues to us, with an old Portuguese pilot on board, who, knowing us to be an European ship, came to offer his service, which, indeed, we were glad of, and took him on board; upon which, without asking us whither we would go, he dismissed the boat he came in, and sent it back.

I thought it was now so much in our choice to make the old man carry us whither we would that I began to talk to him about carrying us to the Gulf of Nanquin, which is the most northern part of the coast of China. The old man said he knew the Gulf of Nanquin very well, but smiling, asked us what we would do there? I told him we would sell our cargo and purchase China wares, calicoes, raw silks, tea, wrought silks, etc., and so would return by the same course we came. He told us our best port had been to have put in at Macao, where we could not have failed of a market for our opium to our satisfaction, and might for our money have purchased all sorts of China goods as cheap as we could at Nanquin.

Not being able to put the old man out of his talk, of which he was very opinionated or conceited, I told him we were gentlemen as well as merchants, and that we had a mind to go and see the great city of Peking, and the famous court of the monarch of China. "Why then," says the old man, "you should go to Ningpo, where, by the river which runs into the sea there, you may go up within five leagues of the great canal. This canal is a navigable stream, which goes through the heart of that vast Empire of China, crosses all the rivers, passes some considerable hills by the help of sluices and gates, and goes up to the city of Peking, being in length near two hundred and seventy leagues."

"Well," said I, "Senhor Portuguese, but that is not our business now; the great question is, if you can carry us up to the city of Nanquin, from whence we can travel to Peking afterwards?" He said he could do so very well, and that there was a great Dutch ship gone up that way just before. This gave me a little shock, for a Dutch ship was now our terror, and we had much rather have met the Devil, at least if he had not come in too frightful a figure; and we depended upon it that a Dutch ship would be our destruction, for we were in no condition to fight them; all the ships they trade with into those parts being of great burthen, and of much greater force than we were.

The old man found me a little confused, and under some concern, when he named a Dutch ship; and said to me, "Sir, you need be under no

apprehensions of the Dutch; I suppose they are not now at war with your nation?" "No," said I, "that 's true; but I know not what liberties men may take when they are out of the reach of the laws of their own country." "Why," says he, "you are no pirates; what need you fear? They will not meddle with peaceable merchants, sure."

If I had any blood in my body that did not fly up into my face at that word, it was hindered by some stop in the vessels appointed by nature to circulate it, for it put me into the greatest disorder and confusion imaginable; nor was it possible for me to conceal it so but that the old man easily perceived it.

"Sir," says he, "I find you are in some disorder in your thoughts at my talk; pray be pleased to go which way you think fit, and, depend upon it, I'll do you all the service I can." "Why, senhor," said I, "it is true, I am a little unsettled in my resolution at this time, whither to go in particular; and I am something more so for what you said about pirates. I hope there are no pirates in these seas; we are but in an ill condition to meet with them, for you see we have but a small force, and are but very weakly manned." "O, sir," says he, "don't be concerned. I do not know that there have been any pirates in these seas these fifteen years, except one, which was seen, as I hear, in the Bay of Siam, about a month since; but you may be assured she is gone to the southward; nor was she a ship of any great force, or fit for the work:

she was not built for a privateer, but was run away with by a reprobate crew that was on board, after the captain and some of his men had been murdered by the Malayans, at or near the Island of Sumatra." "What!" said I, seeming to know nothing of the matter, "did they murder the captain?" "No," said he, "I don't understand that they murdered him; but as they afterwards ran away with the ship, it is generally believed that they betrayed him into the hands of the Malayans, who did murder him; and perhaps they procured them to do it." "Why then," said I, "they deserve death as much as if they had done it themselves." "Nay," says the old man, "they do deserve it; and they will certainly have it, if they light upon any English or Dutch ship; for they have all agreed together, that if they meet that rogue they'll give him no quarter." "But," said I to him, "you say the pirate is gone out of these seas; how can they meet with him then?" "Why, that's true," says he, "they do say so; but he was, as I tell you, in the Bay of Siam, in the river Cambodia; and was discovered there by some Dutchmen who belonged to the ship, and who were left on shore when they ran away with her; and some English and Dutch traders being in the river, they were within a little of taking him: nay," said he, "if the foremost boats had been well seconded by the rest, they had certainly taken him; but he, finding only two boats within reach of him, tacked about, and fired at those two, and disabled them

before the others came up, and then, standing off to sea, the others were not able to follow, and so he got away ; but they have all so exact a description of the ship that they will be sure to know her ; and wherever they find her they have vowed to give no quarter either to the captain or seamen, but to hang them all up at the yard-arm." "What !" said I, "will they execute them right or wrong ; hang them first, and judge them afterwards ?" "O sir," says the old pilot, "there is no need to make a formal business of it with such rogues as those ; let them tie them back to back, and set them a-diving, 't is no more than they deserve."

I knew I had my old man fast on board, and that he could do no harm, so that I turned short upon him : "Well now, senhor," said I, "this is the very reason why I would have you carry us up to Nanquin, and not put back to Macao, or to any other part of the country where the English or Dutch ships come ; for be it known to you, senhor, those captains of the English and Dutch ships are a parcel of rash, proud, insolent fellows, that neither know what belongs to justice, nor how to behave themselves as the laws of God and nature direct ; but being proud of their offices, and not understanding their power, they would act the murderers to punish robbers ; would take upon them to insult men falsely accused, and determine them guilty without due inquiry : and perhaps I may live to bring some of them to account for it, when they may be taught how justice is to be executed ;

and that no man ought to be treated as a criminal till some evidence may be had of the crime, and that he is the man."

With this I told him that this was the very ship they attacked, and gave him a full account of the skirmish we had with their boats, and how foolishly and cowardly they behaved. I told him all the story of our buying the ship, and how the Dutchman served us. I told him the reasons I had to believe the story of killing the master by the Malaysians was true, as also the running away with the ship; but it was all a fiction of their own to suggest that the men had turned pirates, and they ought to have been sure it was so before they had ventured to attack us by surprise, and oblige us to resist them; adding that they would have the blood of those men, whom we killed there in just defence, to answer for.

The old man was amazed at this relation, and told us we were very much in the right to go away to the north; and that if he might advise us, it should be to sell the ship in China, which we might very well do, and buy or build another in the country; "and," said he, "though you will not get so good a ship, yet you may get one able enough to carry you and all your goods back again to Bengal, or anywhere else." I told him I would take his advice when I came to any port where I could find a ship for my turn, or get any customer to buy this. He replied, I should meet with customers enough for the ship at Nanquin, and that a Chinese junk

would serve me very well to go back again; and that he would procure me people both to buy one and sell the other. "Well, but, senhor," said I, "as you say they know the ship so well, I may, perhaps, if I follow your measures, be instrumental to bring some honest innocent men into a terrible broil, and perhaps to be murdered in cold blood; for wherever they find the ship, they will prove the guilt upon the men, by proving this was the ship, and so innocent men may probably be overpowered and murdered." "Why," says the old man, "I'll find out a way to prevent that also; for as I know all those commanders you speak of very well, and shall see them all as they pass by, I will be sure to set them to rights in the thing, and let them know that they had been so much in the wrong; that though the people who were on board at first might run away with the ship, yet it was not true that they had turned pirates; and that, in particular, these were not the men that first went off with the ship, but innocently bought her for their trade; and I am persuaded they will so far believe me as at least to act more cautiously for the time to come."

While these things were passing between us, by way of discourse, we went forward directly for Nanquin, and in about thirteen days' sail came to an anchor at the south-west point of the great gulf of Nanquin; where, by the way, I came by accident to understand that two Dutch ships were gone the length before me, and that I should certainly fall

into their hands. I consulted my partner again in this exigency, and he was as much at a loss as I was, and would very gladly have been safe on shore almost anywhere: however, I was not in such perplexity neither; but I asked the old pilot if there was no creek or harbour which I might put into and pursue my business with the Chinese privately, and be in no danger of the enemy. He told me, if I would sail to the southward about forty-two leagues, there was a little port called Quinchang, where the fathers of the mission usually landed from Macao, on their progress to teach the Christian religion to the Chinese, and where no European ships ever put in: and if I thought to put in there, I might consider what further course to take when I was on shore. He confessed, he said, it was not a place for merchants, except that at some certain times they had a kind of a fair there, when the merchants from Japan came over thither to buy the Chinese merchandises.

We all agreed to go back to this place; the name of the port, as he called it, I may perhaps spell wrong, for I do not particularly remember it, having lost this, together with the names of many other places set down in a little pocket-book, which was spoiled by the water by an accident; but this I remember, that the Chinese or Japanese merchants we corresponded with called it by a different name from that which our Portuguese pilot gave it, and pronounced it as above, Quinchang.

As we were unanimous in our resolution to go



to this place, we weighed the next day, having only gone twice on shore where we were to get fresh water; on both which occasions the people of the country were very civil to us, and brought us abundance of things to sell to us, I mean of provisions, plants, roots, tea, rice, and some fowls, but nothing without money.

We came to the other port (the wind being contrary) not till five days, but it was very much to our satisfaction; and I was joyful, and I may say thankful, when I set my foot on shore, resolving, and my partner too, that if it was possible to dispose of ourselves and effects any other way, though not every way to our satisfaction, we would never set one foot on board that unhappy vessel more; and, indeed, I must acknowledge that, of all the circumstances of life that ever I had any experience of, nothing makes mankind so completely miserable as that of being in constant fear. Well does the Scripture say, "The fear of man brings a snare"; it is a life of death, and the mind is so entirely oppressed by it that it is capable of no relief.

Nor did it fail of its usual operations upon the fancy, by heightening every danger, representing the English and Dutch captains to be men incapable of hearing reason, or of distinguishing between honest men and rogues; or between a story calculated for our own turn, made out of nothing, on purpose to deceive, and a true genuine account of our whole voyage, progress, and design; for we might many ways have convinced any reasonable

creature that we were not pirates; the goods we had on board, the course we steered, our frankly showing ourselves, and entering into such and such ports; and even our very manner, the force we had, the number of men, the few arms, little ammunition, short provisions; all these would have served to convince any men that we were no pirates. The opium and other goods we had on board would make it appear the ship had been at Bengal. The Dutchmen, who, it was said, had the names of all the men that were in the ship, might easily see that we were a mixture of English, Portuguese, and Indians, and but two Dutchmen on board. These, and many other particular circumstances, might have made it evident to the understanding of any commander, whose hands we might fall into, that we were no pirates. But fear, that blind, useless passion, worked another way, and threw us into the vapours; it bewildered our understandings, and set the imagination at work to form a thousand terrible things that perhaps might never happen. We first supposed, as indeed everybody else had related to us, that the seamen on board the English and Dutch ships, but especially the Dutch, were so enraged at the name of a pirate, and especially at our beating off their boats and escaping, that they would not give themselves leave to inquire whether we were pirates or no; but would execute us off-hand, as we call it, without giving us any room for a defence. We reflected that there really was so much apparent evidence before them that they would

scarce inquire after any more ; as, first, that the ship was certainly the same, and that some of the seamen among them knew her, and had been on board her ; and, secondly, that when we had intelligence at the river of Cambodia that they were coming down to examine us, we fought their boats and fled ; so that we made no doubt but they were as fully satisfied of our being pirates as we were satisfied of the contrary ; and, as I often said, I know not but I should have been apt to have taken those circumstances for evidence, if the tables were turned, and my case was theirs ; and have made no scruple of cutting all the crew to pieces, without believing, or perhaps considering, what they might have to offer in their defence.

But let that be how it will, these were our apprehensions ; and both my partner and I scarce slept a night without dreaming of halters and yard-arms, that is to say, gibbets ; of fighting, and being taken ; of killing, and being killed : and one night I was in such a fury in my dream, fancying the Dutchmen had boarded us, and I was knocking one of their seamen down, that I struck my doubled fist against the side of the cabin I lay in, with such a force as wounded my hand grievously, broke my knuckles, and cut and bruised the flesh, so that it awaked me out of my sleep.

Another apprehension I had was the cruel usage we might meet with from them if we fell into their hands : then the story of Amboyna came into my head, and how the Dutch might perhaps tor-

ture us, as they did our countrymen there, and make some of our men, by extremity of torture, confess those crimes they never were guilty of, or own themselves and all of us to be pirates, and so they would put us to death with a formal appearance of justice; and that they might be tempted to do this for the gain of our ship and cargo, which was worth four or five thousand pounds, put all together.

These things tormented me and my partner, too, night and day, nor did we consider that the captains of ships have no authority to act thus; and if we had surrendered prisoners to them, they could not answer the destroying us, or torturing us, but would be accountable for it when they came to their own country; this, I say, gave me no satisfaction; for if they were to act thus with us, what advantage would it be to us that they should be called to an account for it? or if we were first to be murdered, what satisfaction would it be to us to have them punished when they came home?

I cannot refrain taking notice here what reflections I now had upon the vast variety of my particular circumstances; how hard I thought it was that I, who had spent forty years in a life of continual difficulties, and was at last come, as it were, to the port or haven which all men drive at, viz., to have rest and plenty, should be a volunteer in new sorrows by my own unhappy choice; and that I, who had escaped so many dangers in my youth, should now come to be hanged in my old age, and

in so remote a place, for a crime which I was not in the least inclined to, much less guilty of.

After these thoughts, something of religion would come in; and I would be considering that this seemed to me to be a disposition of immediate Providence, and I ought to look upon it and submit to it as such; that although I was innocent as to men, I was far from being innocent as to my Maker; and I ought to look in and examine what other crimes in my life were most obvious to me, and for which Providence might justly inflict this punishment as a retribution; and that I ought to submit to this, just as I would to a shipwreck, if it had pleased God to have brought such a disaster upon me.

In its turn, natural courage would sometimes take its place, and then I would be talking myself up to vigorous resolutions; that I would not be taken to be barbarously used by a parcel of merciless wretches in cold blood; that it were much better to have fallen into the hands of the savages, though I was sure they would feast upon me when they had taken me, than by those who would perhaps glut their rage upon me by inhuman tortures and barbarities; that in the case of the savages I always resolved to die fighting to the last gasp, and why should I not do it now, seeing it was much more dreadful, to me at least, to think of falling into these men's hands, than ever it was to think of being eaten by men? for the savages, give them their due, would not eat a man till he was killed

and dead, but these men had many arts beyond the cruelty of death. Whenever these thoughts prevailed, I was sure to put myself into a kind of fever with the agitation of a supposed fight; my blood would boil, and my eyes sparkle, as if I was engaged, and I always resolved to take no quarter at their hands; but, even at last, if I could resist no longer, I would blow up the ship and all that was in her, and leave them but little booty to boast of.

The greater weight the anxieties and perplexities of these things were to our thoughts while we were at sea, the greater was our satisfaction when we saw ourselves on shore; and my partner told me he dreamed that he had a very heavy load upon his back, which he was to carry up a hill, and found that he was not able to stand longer under it; but that the Portuguese pilot came and took it off his back, and the hill disappeared, the ground before him appearing all smooth and plain: and truly it was so; they were all like men who had a load taken off their backs. For my part, I had a weight taken off from my heart that it was not able any longer to bear; and, as I said above, we resolved to go no more to sea in that ship. When we came on shore, the old pilot, who was now our friend, got us a lodging and a warehouse for our goods, which, by the way, was much the same: it was a little house, or hut, with a larger house adjoining to it, all built with canes, and palisadoed round with large canes, to keep out pilfering thieves, of which, it seems, there were not a few in that country:

however, the magistrates allowed us a little guard and we had a soldier with a kind of halberd, or half-pike, who stood sentinel at our door; to whom we allowed a pint of rice, and a little piece of money, about the value of three-pence, per day, so that our goods were kept very safe.

The fair, or mart, usually kept in this place, had been over some time; however, we found that there were three or four junks in the river, and two Japanese, I mean ships from Japan, with goods which they had bought in China, and were not gone away, having some Japanese merchants on shore. The first thing our old Portuguese pilot did for us was to get us acquainted with three missionary Romish priests who were in town, and who had been there some time converting the people to Christianity; but we thought they had made poor work of it, and made them but sorry Christians when they had done: however, that was none of our business. One of these was a Frenchman, whom they called Father Simon; another was a Portuguese, and the third, a Genoese; but Father Simon was courteous, easy in his manner, and very agreeable company; the other two were more reserved, seemed rigid and austere, and applied seriously to the work they came about, viz., to talk with, and insinuate themselves among, the inhabitants, wherever they had opportunity. We often ate and drank with those men; and though, I must confess, the conversion, as they call it, of the Chinese to Christianity is so far from the true conversion required to

bring heathen people to the faith of Christ, that it seems to amount to little more than letting them know the name of Christ, and say some prayers to the Virgin Mary and her Son, in a tongue which they understand not, and to cross themselves, and the like; yet it must be confessed that the religionists, whom we call missionaries, have a firm belief that these people will be saved, and that they are the instruments of it; and, on this account, they undergo not only the fatigue of the voyage, and the hazards of living in such places, but oftentimes death itself, with the most violent tortures, for the sake of this work.

But to return to my story. This French priest, Father Simon, was appointed, it seems, by order of the chief of the mission, to go up to Peking, the royal seat of the Chinese Emperor, and waited only for another priest, who was ordered to come to him from Macao, to go along with him; and we scarce ever met together but he was inviting me to go that journey; telling me how he would show me all the glorious things of that mighty empire, and, among the rest, the greatest city in the world: "a city," said he, "that your London and our Paris, put together, cannot be equal to." This was the city of Peking, which, I confess, is very great, and infinitely full of people; but as I looked on those things with different eyes from other men, so I shall give my opinion of them in a few words when I come in course of my travels to speak more particularly of them.



But, first, I come to my friar or missionary. Dining with him one day, and being very merry together, I showed some little inclination to go with him; and he pressed me and my partner very hard, and with a great many persuasions, to consent. "Why, Father Simon," says my partner, "should you desire our company so much? you know we are heretics, and you do not love us, nor cannot keep us company with any pleasure." "O," says he, "you may perhaps be good Catholics in time; my business here is to convert heathens, and who knows but I may convert you too?" "Very well, Father," said I, "so you will preach to us all the way?" "I will not be troublesome to you," says he; "our religion does not divest us of good manners: besides, we are here like countrymen; and so we are, compared to the place we are in; and if you are Huguenots, and I a Catholic, we may be all Christians at last; at least, we are all gentlemen, and we may converse so, without being uneasy to one another." I liked this part of his discourse very well, and it began to put me in mind of my priest that I had left in the Brazils; but this Father Simon did not come up to his character by a great deal: for though Father Simon had no appearance of a criminal levity in him neither, yet he had not that fund of Christian zeal, strict piety, and sincere affection to religion, that my other good ecclesiastic had.

But to leave him a little, though he never left us, nor soliciting us to go with him; we had something else before us at first, for we had all this while

our ship and our merchandise to dispose of, and we began to be very doubtful what we should do, for we were now in a place of very little business; and once I was about to venture to sail for the river of Kilam, and the city of Nanquin: but Providence seemed now more visibly, as I thought, than ever, to concern itself in our affairs; and I was encouraged, from this very time, to think I should one way or other get out of this entangled circumstance, and be brought home to my own country again, though I had not the least view of the manner. Providence, I say, began here to clear up our way a little: and the first thing that offered was that our old Portuguese pilot brought a Japan merchant to us, who inquired what goods we had; and, in the first place, he bought all our opium, and gave us a very good price for it, paying us in gold by weight, some in small pieces of their own coin, and some in small wedges, of about ten or eleven ounces each. While we were dealing with him for our opium, it came into my head that he might perhaps deal for the ship too, and I ordered the interpreter to propose it to him. He shrugged up his shoulders at it when it was first proposed to him; but in a few days after he came to me, with one of the missionary priests for his interpreter, and told me he had a proposal to make to me, which was this: he had bought a great quantity of goods of us, when he had no thoughts of proposals made to him of buying the ship: and that, therefore, he had not money enough to pay for the ship:

but if I would let the same men who were in the ship navigate her, he would hire the ship to go to Japan; and would send them from thence to the Philippine Islands with another loading, which he would pay the freight of before they went from Japan, and that at their return he would buy the ship. I began to listen to his proposal, and so eager did my head still run upon rambling that I could not but begin to entertain a notion of going myself with him, and so to sail from the Philippine Islands away to the South Seas: accordingly I asked the Japanese merchant if he would not hire us to the Philippine Islands, and discharge us there. He said, No, he could not do that, for then he could not have the return of his cargo; but he would discharge us in Japan, at the ship's return. Well, still I was for taking him at that proposal, and going myself; but my partner, wiser than myself, persuaded me from it, representing the dangers, as well of the seas as of the Japanese, who are a false, cruel, and treacherous people; likewise those of the Spaniards at the Philippines, more false, cruel, and treacherous than they.

But to bring this long turn of our affairs to a conclusion: the first thing we had to do was to consult with the captain of the ship, and with his men, and know if they were willing to go to Japan: and while I was doing this, the young man whom my nephew had left with me as my companion for my travels came to me, and told me that he thought that voyage promised very fair, and that there was

a great prospect of advantage, and he would be very glad if I undertook it; but that if I would not, and would give him leave, he would go as a merchant, or how I pleased to order him; that if ever he came to England, and I was there and alive, he would render me a faithful account of his success, which should be as much mine as I pleased. I was really loath to part with him; but considering the prospect of advantage, which was really considerable, and that he was a young fellow as likely to do well in it as any I knew, I inclined to let him go; but I told him I would consult my partner, and give him an answer the next day. My partner and I discoursed about it, and my partner made a most generous offer: "You know it has been an unlucky ship," said he, "and we both resolve not to go to sea in it again; if your steward [so he called my man] will venture the voyage, I will leave my share of the vessel to him, and let him make the best of it; and if we live to meet in England, and he meets with success abroad, he shall account for one-half of the profits of the ship's freight to us; the other shall be his own."

If my partner, who was no way concerned with my young man, made him such an offer, I could do no less than offer him the same: and all the ship's company being willing to go with him, we made over half the ship to him in property, and took a writing from him, obliging him to account for the other; and away he went to Japan. The Japan merchant proved a very punctual, honest

man to him; protected him at Japan, and got him a licence to come on shore, which the Europeans in general have not lately obtained; paid him his freight very punctually; sent him to the Philippines, loaded with Japan and China wares, and a supercargo of their own, who, trafficking with the Spaniards, brought back European goods again, and a great quantity of cloves and other spices; and there he not only paid his freight very well, and at a very good price, but, not being willing to sell the ship then, the merchant furnished him goods on his own account; and with some money, and some spices of his own which he brought with him, he went back to the Manillas to the Spaniards, where he sold his cargo very well. Here, having got a good acquaintance at Manilla, he got his ship made a free ship; and the Governor of Manilla hired him to go to Acapulco in America, on the coast of Mexico, and gave him a licence to land there, and to travel to Mexico, and to pass in any Spanish ship to Europe with all his men. He made the voyage to Acapulco very happily, and there he sold his ship; and having there also obtained allowance to travel by land to Porto Bello, he found means, somehow or other, to get to Jamaica, with all his treasure; and about eight years after came to England exceeding rich, of which I shall take notice in its place: in the mean time, I return to our particular affairs.

Being now to part with the ship and ship's company, it came before us, of course, to consider what

recompence we should give to the two men that gave us such timely notice of the design against us in the river Cambodia. The truth was, they had done us a very considerable service, and deserved well at our hands ; though, by the way, they were a couple of rogues too : for as they believed the story of our being pirates, and that we had really run away with the ship, they came down to us not only to betray the design that was formed against us, but to go to sea with us as pirates ; and one of them confessed afterwards that nothing else but the hopes of going a-roguing brought him to do it. However, the service they did us was not the less ; and therefore, as I had promised to be grateful to them, I first ordered the money to be paid them which they said was due to them on board their respective ships ; over and above that, I gave each of them a small sum of money in gold, which contented them very well ; then I made the Englishman gunner in the ship, the gunner now being second mate and purser ; the Dutchman I made boatswain ; so they were both very well pleased, and proved very serviceable, being both able seamen, and very stout fellows.

We were now on shore in China : if I thought myself banished and remote from my own country at Bengal, where I had many ways to get home for my money, what could I think of myself now, when I was got about a thousand leagues farther off from home, and perfectly destitute of all manner of prospect of return ? All we had for it was this, that in

about four months' time there was to be another fair at the place where we were, and then we might be able to purchase all sorts of the manufactures of the country, and withal might possibly find some Chinese junks or vessels from Tonquin, that would be to be sold, and would carry us and our goods whither we pleased. This I liked very well, and resolved to wait; besides, as our particular persons were not obnoxious, so if any English or Dutch ships came thither, perhaps we might have an opportunity to load our goods, and get passage to some other place in India, nearer home. Upon these hopes we resolved to continue here; but, to divert ourselves, we took two or three journeys into the country. First, we went ten days' journey, to the city of Nanquin, a city well worth seeing, indeed; they say it has a million of people in it: it is regularly built, the streets all exactly straight, and cross one another in direct lines, which gives the figure of it great advantage. But when I come to compare the miserable people of these countries with ours, their fabrics, their manner of living, their government, their religion, their wealth, and their glory, as some call it, I must confess that I scarcely think it worth my while to mention them here. It is very observable that we wonder at the grandeur, the riches, the pomp, the ceremonies, the government, the manufactures, the commerce, and conduct of these people; not that it is to be wondered at, or, indeed, in the least to be regarded, but because having a true notion of the barbarity of those

countries, the rudeness and the ignorance that prevails there, we do not expect to find any such thing so far off. Otherwise, what are their buildings to the palaces and royal buildings of Europe? What their trade to the universal commerce of England, Holland, France, and Spain? What are their cities to ours, for wealth, strength, gaiety of apparel, rich furniture, and infinite variety? What are their ports, supplied with a few junks and barks, to our navigation, our merchant fleets, our large and powerful navies? Our city of London has more trade than half their mighty empire: one English, Dutch, or French man-of-war of eighty guns would be able to fight almost all the shipping belonging to China: but the greatness of their wealth, their trade, the power of their government, and the strength of their armies, may be a little surprising to us, because, as I have said, considering them as a barbarous nation of pagans, little better than savages, we did not expect such things among them. And this, indeed, is the advantage with which all their greatness and power is represented to us; otherwise, it is in itself nothing at all, for what I have said of their ships may be said of their armies and troops: all the forces of their empire, though they were to bring two millions of men into the field together, would be able to do nothing but ruin the country, and starve themselves, if they were to besiege a strong town in Flanders, or to fight a disciplined army. One good line of German cuirassiers, or of French cavalry, might withstand all the horse



of China: a million of their foot could not stand before one embattled body of our infantry, posted so as not to be surrounded, though they were not to be one to twenty in number: nay, I do not boast if I say that thirty thousand German or English foot, and ten thousand horse, well managed, could defeat all the forces of China. And so of our fortified towns, and of the art of our engineers in assaulting and defending towns: there is not a fortified town in China could hold out one month against the batteries and attacks of an European army; and, at the same time, all the armies of China could never take such a town as Dunkirk, provided it was not starved—no, not in a ten years' siege. They have fire-arms, it is true, but they are awkward and uncertain in their going off; and their powder has but little strength. Their armies are badly disciplined, and want skill to attack, or temper to retreat; and, therefore, I must confess, it seemed strange to me, when I came home, and heard our people say such fine things of the power, glory, magnificence, and trade of the Chinese; because, as far as I saw, they appeared to be a contemptible herd or crowd of ignorant sordid slaves, subjected to a government qualified only to rule such a people: and were not its distance inconceivably great from Muscovy, and the Muscovite Empire in a manner as rude, impotent, and ill governed as they, the Czar of Muscovy might with ease drive them all out of their country, and conquer them in one campaign: and had the Czar (who is now a growing prince) fallen

this way, instead of attacking the warlike Swedes, and equally improved himself in the art of war, as they say he has done ; and if none of the powers of Europe had envied or interrupted him, he might by this time have been Emperor of China, instead of being beaten by the King of Sweden at Narva, when the latter was not one to six in number. As their strength and their grandeur, so their navigation, commerce, and husbandry are very imperfect, compared to the same things in Europe: also in their knowledge, their learning, and in their skill in the sciences, they are either very awkward or defective, though they have globes and spheres, and a smattering of the mathematics, and think they know more than all the world besides: but they know little of the motions of the heavenly bodies ; and so grossly and absurdly ignorant are their common people that when the sun is eclipsed, they think a great dragon has assaulted it, and is going to run away with it ; and they fall a-clattering with all the drums and kettles in the country, to fright the monster away, just as we do to hive a swarm of bees.

As this is the only excursion of the kind which I have made in all the accounts I have given of my travels, I shall make no more such ; it is none of my business, nor any part of my design, but to give an account of my own adventures through a life of inimitable wanderings, and a long variety of changes, which, perhaps, few that come after me will have heard the like of: I shall therefore say

very little of all the mighty places, desert countries, and numerous people I have yet to pass through, more than relates to my own story and which my concern among them will make necessary.

## CHAPTER XIV

**I** WAS now, as near as I can compute, in the heart of China, about thirty degrees north of the line, for we were returned from Nanquin : I had, indeed, a mind to see the city of Peking, which I had heard so much of, and Father Simon importuned me daily to do it. At length his time of going away being set, and the other missionary who was to go with him being arrived from Macao, it was necessary that we should resolve either to go or not ; so I referred it wholly to my partner, and left it wholly to his choice, who at length resolved it in the affirmative ; and we prepared for our journey. We set out with very good advantage, as to finding the way, for we got leave to travel in the retinue of one of their Mandarins, a kind of viceroy or principal magistrate in the province where they reside, and who take great state upon them, travelling with great attendance, and with great homage from the people, who are sometimes greatly impoverished by them, being obliged to furnish provisions for them and all their attendants in their

journeys. That which I particularly observed, as to our travelling with his baggage, was this, that though we received sufficient provisions both for ourselves and our horses from the country as belonging to the Mandarin, yet we were obliged to pay for everything we had, after the market price of the country, and the Mandarin's steward collected it duly from us ; so that our travelling in the retinue of the Mandarin, though it was a very great kindness to us, was not such a mighty favour in him, but was a great advantage to him, considering there were about thirty other people travelled in the same manner besides us, under the protection of his retinue ; for the country furnished all the provisions for nothing to him, and yet he took our money for them.

We were twenty-five days travelling to Peking, through a country infinitely populous, but I think badly cultivated ; the husbandry, the economy, and the way of living miserable, though they boast so much of the industry of the people : I say miserable, if compared with our own, but not so to these poor wretches, who know no other. The pride of the people is infinitely great, and exceeded by nothing but their poverty, in some parts, which adds to that which I call their misery ; and I must needs think the naked savages of America live much more happily than the poorest sort of these, because as they have nothing, so they desire nothing : whereas these are proud and insolent, and in the main are in many parts mere beggars and

drudges; their ostentation is inexpressible; and, if they can, they love to keep multitudes of servants or slaves, which is to the last degree ridiculous, as well as the contempt of all the world but themselves.

I must confess, I travelled more pleasantly afterwards in the deserts and vast wildernesses of Grand Tartary than here; and yet the roads here are well-paved and well-kept, and very convenient for travellers: but nothing was more awkward to me than to see such a haughty, imperious, insolent people, in the midst of the grossest simplicity and ignorance; and my friend Father Simon and I used to be very merry upon these occasions, to see the beggarly pride of these people. For example, coming by the house of a country gentleman, as Father Simon called him, about ten leagues off the city of Nanquin, we had first of all the honour to ride with the master of the house about two miles; the state he rode in was a perfect Don Quixotism, being a mixture of pomp and poverty. His habit was very proper for a scaramouch, or merry-andrew, being a dirty calico, with hanging sleeves, tassels, and cuts and slashes almost on every side: it covered a taffety vest, as greasy as a butcher's, and which testified that his honour must be a most exquisite sloven. His horse was but a poor, starved, hobbling creature, and he had two slaves followed him on foot to drive the poor creature along: he had a whip in his hand, and he belaboured the beast as fast about the head as his

slaves did about the tail; and thus he rode by us, with about ten or twelve servants, going from the city to his country-seat, about half a league before us. We travelled on gently, but this figure of a gentleman rode away before us; and as we stopped at a village about an hour to refresh us, when we came by the country-seat of this great man, we saw him in a little place before his door, eating his repast. It was a kind of a garden, but he was very easy to be seen; and we were given to understand that the more we looked at him the better he would be pleased. He sat under a tree, something like the palmetto, which effectually shaded him over the head, and on the south side; but under the tree was also placed a large umbrella, which made that part look well enough. He sat lolling back in a great elbow-chair, being a heavy corpulent man, and had his meat brought him by two women slaves; he had two more, one of which fed the squire with a spoon, and the other held the dish with one hand, and scraped off what he let fall upon his worship's beard and taffety vest with the other; while the great fat brute thought it below him to employ his own hands in any of those familiar offices, which kings and monarchs would rather do than be troubled with the clumsy fingers of their servants.

I took this time to think what pains men's pride puts them to, and how troublesome a haughty temper, thus ill managed, must be to a man of common sense; and leaving the poor wretch to

please himself with our looking at him, as if we admired his pomp, though we really pitied and contemned him, we pursued our journey. Only Father Simon had the curiosity to stay to inform himself what dainties the country justice had to feed on in all his state, which he had the honour to taste of, and which was, I think, a mess of boiled rice, with a great piece of garlic in it, and a little bag filled with green pepper, and another plant which they have there, something like our ginger, but smelling like musk, and tasting like mustard; all this was put together, and a small piece of lean mutton boiled in it, and this was his worship's repast; four or five servants more attended at a distance, who, we supposed, were to eat of the same after their master.

As for our Mandarin with whom we travelled, he was respected as a king, surrounded always with his gentlemen, and attended in all his appearances with such pomp that I saw little of him but at a distance; but this I observed, that there was not a horse in his retinue but that our carrier's pack-horses in England seemed to me to look much better; though it was hard to judge rightly, for they were so covered with equipage, mantles, trappings, etc., that we could scarce see anything but their feet and their heads as they went along.

I was now light-hearted, and all my trouble and perplexity that I have given an account of being over, I had no anxious thought about me, which made this journey the pleasanter to me; nor had



I any ill accident attended me, only in passing or fording a small river my horse fell, and made me free of the country, as they call it, that is to say, threw me in: the place was not deep, but it wetted me all over. I mention it, because it spoiled my pocket-book, wherein I had set down the names of several people and places which I had occasion to remember, and which, not taking due care of, the leaves rotted, and the words were never after to be read, to my great loss as to the names of some places I touched at in this journey.

At length we arrived at Peking: I had nobody with me but the youth whom my nephew, the captain, had given me to attend me as a servant, and who proved very trusty and diligent; and my partner had nobody with him but one servant, who was a kinsman. As for the Portuguese pilot, he being desirous to see the court, we bore his charges for his company, and to use him as an interpreter, for he understood the language of the country, and spoke good French, and a little English; and, indeed, this old man was a most useful implement to us everywhere; for we had not been a week at Peking, when he came laughing, "Ah, Senhor Inglese," says he, "I have something to tell you will make your heart glad!" "My heart glad!" says I; "what can that be? I don't know anything in this country can either give me joy or grief, to any great degree." "Yes, yes," said the old man in broken English, "make you glad, me sorry." "Why," said I, "will it make you sorry?" "Be-

cause," said he, "you have brought me here twenty-five days' journey, and will leave me to go back alone, and which way shall I get to my port afterwards without a ship, without a horse, without *pecune*": so he called money, being his broken Latin, of which he had abundance to make us merry with. In short, he told us there was a great caravan of Muscovite and Polish merchants in the city, preparing to set out on their journey by land to Muscovy, within four or five weeks, and he was sure we would take the opportunity to go with them, and leave him behind, to go back alone.

I confess I was greatly surprised with this good news, and had scarce power to speak to him for some time; but at last I turned to him, "How do you know this?" said I. "Are you sure it is true?" "Yes," says he; "I met this morning in the street an old acquaintance of mine, an Armenian, who is among them: he came last from Astracan, and was designing to go to Tonquin, where I formerly knew him, but he has altered his mind, and is now resolved to go with the caravan to Moscow, and so down the river Wolga to Astracan." "Well, senhor," says I, "do not be uneasy about being left to go back alone; if this be a method for my return to England, it shall be your fault if you go back to Macao at all." We then went to consult together what was to be done; and I asked my partner what he thought of the pilot's news, and whether it would suit with his affairs? He told me he would do just as I would; for he had settled

all his affairs so well at Bengal, and left his effects in such good hands, that, as we had made a good voyage here, if he could vest it in China silks, wrought and raw, such as might be worth the carriage, he would be content to go to England, and then make his voyage back to Bengal by the Company's ships.

Having resolved upon this, we agreed that if our Portuguese pilot would go with us we would bear his charges to Moscow, or to England, if he pleased ; nor, indeed, were we to be esteemed over-generous in that neither, if we had not rewarded him farther, the service he had done us being really worth more than that : for he had not only been a pilot to us at sea, but he had been like a broker for us on shore ; and his procuring for us the Japan merchant was some hundreds of pounds in our pockets. So we consulted together about it, and being willing to gratify him, which was but doing him justice, and very willing also to have him with us besides, for he was a most necessary man on all occasions, we agreed to give him a quantity of coined gold, which, as I compute it, came to about one hundred and seventy-five pounds sterling, between us, and to bear all his charges, both for himself and horse, except only a horse to carry his goods. Having settled this between ourselves, we called him to let him know what we had resolved. I told him he had complained of our being to let him go back alone, and I was now to tell him we were resolved he should not go back at

all; that as we had resolved to go to Europe with the caravan, he should go with us; and that we called him to know his mind. He shook his head, and said it was a long journey, and he had no *pecune* to carry him thither, or to subsist himself when he came there. We told him we believed it was so, and therefore we had resolved to do something for him that should let him see how sensible we were of the service he had done us, and also how agreeable he was to us: and then I told him what we had resolved to give him here, which he might lay out as we would do our own; and that as for his charges, if he would go with us we would set him safe on shore (life and casualties excepted) either in Muscovy or England, which he would, at our own charge, except only the carriage of his goods. He received the proposal like a man transported, and told us he would go with us over the whole world; and so we all prepared for our journey. However, as it was with us, so it was with the other merchants: they had many things to do; and instead of being ready in five weeks, it was four months and some days before all things were got together.

It was the beginning of February, our style, when we set out from Peking. My partner and the old pilot had gone express back to the port where we had first put in, to dispose of some goods which we had left there: and I, with a Chinese merchant whom I had some knowledge of at Nanquin, and who came to Peking on his own affairs,

went to Nanquin, where I bought ninety pieces of fine damasks, with about two hundred pieces of other very fine silks of several sorts, some mixed with gold, and had all these brought to Peking against my partner's return : besides this, we bought a very large quantity of raw silk, and some other goods, our cargo amounting, in these goods only, to about three thousand five hundred pounds sterling; which, together with tea, and some fine calicoes, and three camels'-loads of nutmegs and cloves, loaded in all eighteen camels for our share, besides those we rode upon ; which with two or three spare horses, and two horses loaded with provisions, made us, in short, twenty-six camels and horses in our retinue.

The company was very great, and, as near as I can remember, made between three and four hundred horse, and upwards of one hundred and twenty men, very well-armed, and provided for all events : for as the Eastern caravans are subject to be attacked by the Arabs, so are these by the Tartars ; but they are not altogether so dangerous as the Arabs, nor so barbarous, when they prevail.

The company consisted of people of several nations ; but there were above sixty of them merchants or inhabitants of Moscow, though of them some were Livonians ; and to our particular satisfaction, five of them were Scots, who appeared also to be men of great experience in business, and of very good substance.

When we had travelled one day's journey, the

guides, who were five in number, called all the gentlemen and merchants, that is to say, all the passengers except the servants, to a great council, as they called it. At this council every one deposited a certain quantity of money to a common stock, for the necessary expense of buying forage on the way, where it was not otherwise to be had, and for satisfying the guides, getting horses, and the like: and here they constituted the journey, as they call it, viz., they named captains and officers to draw us all up, and give the word of command, in case of an attack, and give every one their turn of command; nor was this forming us into order any more than what we found needful upon the way, as shall be observed.

The road all on this side of the country is very populous, and is full of potters and earth-makers, that is to say, people that temper the earth for the China-ware; and as I was coming along, our Portugal pilot, who had always something or other to say to make us merry, came sneering to me, and told me he would show me the greatest rarity in all the country, and that I should have this to say of China, after all the ill-humoured things I had said of it, that I had seen one thing which was not to be seen in all the world beside. I was very importunate to know what it was: at last he told me it was a gentleman's house built with China-ware. "Well," says I, "are not the materials of their buildings the product of their own country, and so it is all China-ware, is it not?" "No, no," says

he, "I mean it is a house all made of China-ware, such as you call it in England, or, as it is called in our country, porcelain." "Well," says I, "such a thing may be; how big is it? Can we carry it in a box upon a camel? If we can, we will buy it." "Upon a camel!" says the old pilot, holding up both hands; "why there is a family of thirty people lives in it."

I was then curious, indeed, to see it; and when I came to it, it was nothing but this: it was a timber house, or a house built, as we call it in England, with lath and plaster; but all this plastering was really China-ware, that is to say, it was plastered with the earth that makes China-ware. The outside, which the sun shone hot upon, was glazed, and looked very well, perfectly white, and painted with blue figures, as the large China-ware in England is painted, and hard as if it had been burnt. As to the inside, all the walls, instead of wainscot, were lined with hardened and painted tiles, like the little square tiles we call galley-tiles in England, all made of the finest China, and the figures exceeding fine, indeed, with extraordinary variety of colours, mixed with gold; many tiles making but one figure, but joined so artificially, the mortar being made of the same earth, that it was very hard to see where the tiles met. The floors of the rooms were of the same composition, and as hard as the earthen floors we have in use in several parts of England; as hard as stone, and smooth, but not burnt and painted, except some smaller

rooms, like closets, which were all as it were paved with the same tile : the ceiling, and all the plastering work in the whole house, were of the same earth ; and, after all, the roof was covered with tiles of the same, but of a deep shining black. This was a China-ware house, indeed, truly and literally to be called so, and had I not been upon the journey, I could have stayed some days to see and examine the particulars of it. They told me there were fountains and fishponds in the garden, all paved on the bottom and sides with the same ; and fine statues set up in rows on the walks, entirely formed of the porcelain earth, and burnt whole.

As this is one of the singularities of China, so they may be allowed to excel in it ; but I am very sure they excel in their accounts of it ; for they told me such incredible things of their performance in crockery-ware, for such it is, that I care not to relate, as knowing it could not be true. They told me, in particular, of one workman that made a ship, with all its tackle, and masts and sails, in earthenware, big enough to carry fifty men. If they had told me he launched it, and made a voyage to Japan in it, I might have said something to it, indeed ; but as it was, I knew the whole of the story, which was, in short, asking pardon for the word, that the fellow lied : so I smiled, and said nothing to it.

This odd sight kept me two hours behind the caravan, for which the leader of it for the day fined me about the value of three shillings ; and told me,



if it had been three days' journey without the wall, as it was three days' within, he must have fined me four times as much, and made me ask pardon the next council day: I promised to be more orderly; and, indeed, I found afterwards the orders made for keeping all together were absolutely necessary for our common safety.

In two days more we passed the great China Wall, made for a fortification against the Tartars; and a very great work it is, going over hills and mountains in a needless track, where the rocks are impassable, and the precipices such as no enemy could possibly enter, or indeed climb up, or where, if they did, no wall could hinder them. They tell us its length is near a thousand English miles, but that the country is five hundred in a straight measured line, which the wall bounds, without measuring the windings and turnings it takes: it is about four fathoms high, and as many thick in some places.

I stood still an hour, or thereabout, without trespassing our orders (for so long the caravan was in passing the gate), to look at it on every side, near and far off, I mean that was within my view; and the guide of our caravan, who had been extolling it for the wonder of the world, was mighty eager to hear my opinion of it. I told him it was a most excellent thing to keep out the Tartars; which he happened not to understand as I meant it, and so took it for a compliment; but the old pilot laughed: "O, Senhor Inglese," says he, "you

“speak in colours.” “In colours!” said I; “what do you mean by that?” “Why, you speak what looks white this way, and black that way: gay one way, and dull another. You tell him it is a good wall to keep out Tartars; you tell me by that it is good for nothing but to keep out Tartars. I understand you, Senhor Inglese; I understand you; but Senhor Chinese understood you his own way.” “Well,” says I, “senhor, do you think it would stand out an army of our country-people, with a good train of artillery, or our engineers, with two companies of miners? Would not they batter it down in ten days, that an army might enter in bat-talia; or blow it up in the air, foundation and all, that there should be no sign of it left?” “Aye, aye,” says he, “I know that.” The Chinese wanted mightily to know what I said, and I gave him leave to tell him a few days after, for we were then almost out of their country, and he was to leave us in a little time after this; but when he knew what I said, he was dumb all the rest of the way, and we heard no more of his fine story of the Chinese power and greatness while he stayed.

After we passed this mighty nothing, called a wall, something like the Picts’ wall, so famous in Northumberland, built by the Romans, we began to find the country thinly inhabited, and the people rather confined to live in fortified towns and cities, as being subject to the inroads and depredations of the Tartars, who rob in great armies, and therefore are not to be resisted by the naked

inhabitants of an open country. And here I began to find the necessity of keeping together in a caravan as we travelled, for we saw several troops of Tartars roving about; but when I came to see them distinctly, I wondered more that the Chinese Empire could be conquered by such contemptible fellows; for they are a mere horde of wild fellows, keeping no order, and understanding no discipline or manner of fight. Their horses are poor lean creatures, taught nothing, and fit for nothing; and this we found the first day we saw them, which was after we entered the wilder part of the country. Our leader for the day gave leave for about sixteen of us to go a-hunting; as they call it, and what was this but hunting of sheep: however, it may be called hunting, too, for the creatures are the wildest and swiftest of foot that ever I saw of their kind; only they will not run a great way, and you are sure of sport when you begin the chase, for they appear generally thirty or forty in a flock, and, like true sheep, always keep together when they fly.

In pursuit of this odd sort of game, it was our hap to meet with about forty Tartars; whether they were hunting mutton as we were, or whether they looked for another kind of prey, we know not; but as soon as they saw us, one of them blew a kind of horn very loud, but with a barbarous sound that I had never heard before, and, by the way, never care to hear again: we all supposed this was to call their friends about them, and so it

was; for in less than ten minutes a troop of forty or fifty more appeared at about a mile distance; but our work was over first, as it happened.

One of the Scots merchants of Moscow happened to be amongst us, and as soon as he heard the horn he told us that we had nothing to do but to charge them immediately, without loss of time; and drawing us up in a line, he asked if we were resolved. We told him we were ready to follow him; so he rode directly towards them. They stood gazing at us like a mere crowd, drawn up in no order, nor showing the face of any order at all; but as soon as they saw us advance, they let fly their arrows, which, however, missed us very happily: it seems they mistook not their aim, but their distance; for their arrows all fell a little short of us, but with so true an aim that, had we been about twenty yards nearer, we must have had several men wounded, if not killed.

Immediately we halted, and though it was at a great distance, we fired, and sent them leaden bullets for wooden arrows, following our shot full gallop, to fall in among them sword in hand, for so our bold Scot that led us directed. He was, indeed, but a merchant, but he behaved with that vigour and bravery on this occasion, and yet with such cool courage too, that I never saw any man in action fitter for command. As soon as we came up to them, we fired our pistols in their faces, and then drew: but they fled in the greatest confusion imaginable. The only stand any of them made was

on our right, where three of them stood, and, by signs, called the rest to come back to them, having a kind of scimitar in their hands, and their bows hanging to their backs. Our brave commander, without asking anybody to follow him, gallops up close to them, and with his fusee knocks one of them off his horse, killed the second with his pistol, and the third ran away; and thus ended our fight: but we had this misfortune attending it, that all our mutton we had in chase got away. We had not a man killed or hurt; but as for the Tartars, there were about five of them killed: how many were wounded we knew not; but this we knew, that the other party were so frightened with the noise of our guns that they made off, and never made any attempt upon us.

We were all this while in the Chinese dominions, and therefore the Tartars were not so bold as afterwards: but in about five days we entered a vast, great, wild desert, which held us three days' and nights' march; and we were obliged to carry our water with us in great leathern bottles, and to encamp all night, just as I have heard they do in the Desert of Arabia.

I asked our guides whose dominion this was in; and they told me this was a kind of border, that might be called no man's land, being a part of Great Karakathay, or Grand Tartary: but, however, it was all reckoned as belonging to China, but that there was no care taken here to preserve it from the inroads of thieves, and therefore it was

reckoned the worst desert in the whole march, though we were to go over some much larger.

In passing this wilderness, which was at first very frightful to me, we saw, two or three times, little parties of the Tartars, but they seemed to be upon their own affairs, and to have no design upon us; and so, like the man who met the Devil, if they had nothing to say to us, we had nothing to say to them; we let them go. Once, however, a party of them came so near as to stand and gaze at us: whether it was to consider if they should attack us or not, we knew not: but when we were passed at some distance by them, we made a rear guard of forty men, and stood ready for them, letting the caravan pass half a mile or thereabouts before us. But after a while they marched off; only we found they saluted us with five arrows at their parting, one of which wounded a horse, so that it disabled him, and we left him the next day, poor creature, in great need of a good farrier: they might shoot more arrows, which might fall short of us, but we saw no more arrows or Tartars that time.

We travelled near a month after this, the ways not being so good as at first, though still in the dominions of the Emperor of China, but lay for the most part in villages, some of which were fortified, because of the incursions of the Tartars. When we were come to one of these towns (it was about two days and a half journey before we were to come to the city of Naum), I wanted to buy a camel, of which there are plenty to be sold all the way upon

that road, and horses also, such as they are, because, so many caravans coming that way, they are often wanted. The person that I spoke to, to get me a camel, would have gone and fetched one for me; but I, like a fool, must be officious, and go myself along with him: the place was about two miles out of the village, where it seems they kept the camels and horses feeding under a guard.

I walked it on foot, with my old pilot and a Chinese, being very desirous of a little variety. When we came to the place, it was a low marshy ground, walled round with a stone wall, piled up dry, without mortar or earth among it, like a park, with a little guard of Chinese soldiers at the door. Having bought a camel, and agreed for the price, I came away, and the Chineseman that went with me led the camel, when on a sudden came up five Tartars on horseback; two of them seized the fellow and took the camel from him, while the other three stepped up to me and my old pilot, seeing us, as it were, unarmed, for I had no weapon about me but my sword, which could but ill defend me against three horsemen. The first that came up stopped short upon my drawing my sword, for they are arrant cowards; but a second coming up on my left, gave me a blow on the head, which I never felt till afterwards, and wondered, when I came to myself, what was the matter, and where I was, for he laid me flat on the ground; but my never-failing old pilot, the Portuguese (so Providence, unlooked for, directs deliverances from dangers which to us

are unforeseen), had a pistol in his pocket, which I knew nothing of, nor the Tartars neither: if they had, I suppose they would not have attacked us; but cowards are always boldest when there is no danger. The old man, seeing me down, with a bold heart stepped up to the fellow that had struck me, and laying hold of his arm with one hand, and pulling him down by main force a little towards him with the other, shot him in the head, and laid him dead upon the spot. He then immediately stepped up to him who had stopped us, as I said, and before he could come forward again, made a blow at him with a scimitar which he always wore, but missing the man, cut his horse in the side of his head, cut one of the ears off by the root, and a great slice down by the side of his face. The poor beast, enraged with the wound, was no more to be governed by his rider, though the fellow sat well enough too, but away he flew, and carried him quite out of the pilot's reach, and at some distance, rising upon his hind legs, threw down the Tartar, and fell upon him.

In this interval, the poor Chinese came in who had lost the camel, but he had no weapon: however, seeing the Tartar down, and his horse fallen upon him, away he runs to him, and seizing upon an ugly ill-favoured weapon he had by his side, something like a pole-axe, but not a pole-axe neither, he wrenched it from him, and made shift to knock his Tartarian brains out with it. But my old man had the third Tartar to deal with still; and see-



ing he did not fly, as he expected, nor come on to fight him, as he apprehended, but stand stock-still, the old man stood still too, and fell to work with his tackle, to charge his pistol again; but as soon as the Tartar saw the pistol, away he scoured, and left my pilot, my champion I called him afterwards, a complete victory.

By this time I was a little recovered; for I thought, when I first began to wake, that I had been in a sweet sleep; but, as I said above, I wondered where I was, how I came upon the ground, and what was the matter. But a few moments after, as sense returned, I felt pain, though I did not know where; so I clapped my hand to my head, and took it away bloody: then I felt my head ache; and then, in a moment, memory returned, and everything was present to me again. I jumped upon my feet instantly, and got hold of my sword, but no enemies in view: I found a Tartar lie dead, and his horse standing very quietly by him; and, looking further, I saw my champion and deliverer, who had been to see what the Chinese had done, coming back with his hanger in his hand. The old man, seeing me on my feet, came running to me, and embraced me with a great deal of joy, being afraid before that I had been killed; and seeing me bloody, would see how I was hurt: but it was not much, only what we call a broken head; neither did I afterwards find any great inconvenience from the blow, for it was well again in two or three days.

We made no great gain, however, by this vic-

tory, for we lost a camel and gained a horse; but that which was remarkable, when we came back to the village, the man demanded to be paid for the camel; I disputed it, and it was brought to a hearing before the Chinese judge of the place. To give him his due, he acted with a great deal of prudence and impartiality; and, having heard both sides, he gravely asked the Chineseman that went with me to buy the camel, whose servant he was? "I am no servant," says he, "but went with the stranger." "At whose request?" says the justice. "At the stranger's request," says he. "Why then," says the justice, "you were the stranger's servant for the time; and the camel being delivered to his servant, it was delivered to him, and he must pay for it."

I confess the thing was so clear that I had not a word to say: but, admiring to see such just reasoning upon the consequence, and an accurate stating of the case, I paid willingly for the camel, and sent for another; but, you may observe, I did not go to fetch it myself any more, for I had had enough of that.

The city of Naum is a frontier of the Chinese Empire: they call it fortified, and so it is, as fortifications go there; for this I will venture to affirm, that all the Tartars in Karakathay, which, I believe, are some millions, could not batter down the walls with their bows and arrows; but to call it strong, if it were attacked with cannon, would be to make those who understand it laugh at you.

We wanted, as I have said, above two days' journey of this city, when messengers were sent express to every part of the road to tell all travellers and caravans to halt till they had a guard sent for them; for that an unusual body of Tartars, making ten thousand in all, had appeared in the way, about thirty miles beyond the city.

This was very bad news to travellers; however, it was carefully done of the governor, and we were very glad to hear we should have a guard. Accordingly, two days after, we had two hundred soldiers sent us from a garrison of the Chinese, on our left, and three hundred more from the city of Naum, and with these we advanced boldly; the three hundred soldiers from Naum marched in our front, the two hundred in our rear, and our men on each side of our camels, with our baggage, and the whole caravan in the centre: in this order, and well prepared for battle, we thought ourselves a match for the whole ten thousand Mogul Tartars, if they had appeared; but the next day, when they did appear, it was quite another thing.

It was early in the morning, when, marching from a well-situated little town, called Changu, we had a river to pass, which we were obliged to ferry; and, had the Tartars had any intelligence, then had been the time to have attacked us, when the caravan being over, the rear guard was behind; but they did not appear there. About three hours after, when we were entered upon a desert of about fifteen or sixteen miles over, behold, by a cloud of

dust they raised, we saw an enemy was at hand; and they were at hand, indeed, for they came on upon the spur.

The Chinese, our guard on the front, who had talked so big the day before, began to stagger; and the soldiers frequently looked behind them, which is a certain sign in a soldier that he is just ready to run away. My old pilot was of my mind; and, being near me, called out, "Senhor Inglese," says he, "those fellows must be encouraged, or they will ruin us all; for if the Tartars come on, they will never stand it." "I am of your mind," said I; "but what must be done?" "Done!" says he, "let fifty of our men advance, and flank them on each wing, and encourage them; and they will fight like brave fellows in brave company: but, without this, they will every man turn his back." Immediately I rode up to our leader, and told him, who was exactly of our mind; and accordingly fifty of us marched to the right wing, and fifty to the left, and the rest made a line of rescue; and so we marched, leaving the last two hundred men to make a body by themselves, and to guard the camels; only that, if need were, they should send a hundred men to assist the last fifty.

In a word, the Tartars came on, and an innumerable company they were: how many we could not tell, but ten thousand, we thought, was the least: a party of them came on first and viewed our posture, traversing the ground in the front of our line; and, as we found them within gun-shot,

our leader ordered the two wings to advance swiftly, and give them a salvo on each wing with their shot, which was done; but they went off, and I suppose back, to give an account of the reception they were likely to meet with; and, indeed, that salute cloyed their stomachs, for they immediately halted, stood a while to consider of it, and wheeling off to the left, they gave over their design, and said no more to us for that time; which was very agreeable to our circumstances, which were but very indifferent for a battle with such a number.

Two days after we came to the city of Naun, or Naum; we thanked the governor for his care of us, and collected to the value of a hundred crowns, or thereabouts, which we gave to the soldiers sent to guard us; and here we rested one day. This is a garrison, indeed, and there were nine hundred soldiers kept here; but the reason of it was that formerly the Muscovite frontiers lay nearer to them than they now do, the Muscovites having abandoned that part of the country which lies from this city west for about two hundred miles, as desolate and unfit for use; and more especially being so very remote, and so difficult to send troops thither for its defence: for we had yet above two thousand miles to Muscovy, properly so called.

After this we passed several great rivers, and two dreadful deserts, one of which we were sixteen days passing over, and which, as I said, was to be called no man's land; and, on the 13th of April, we came

to the frontiers of the Muscovite dominions. I think the first town, or fortress, whichever it may be called, that belonged to the Czar of Muscovy, was called Arguna, being on the west side of the river Arguna.

I could not but discover an infinite satisfaction that I was so soon arrived in, as I called it, a Christian country, or, at least, in a country governed by Christians; for though the Muscovites do, in my opinion, but just deserve the name of Christians, yet such they pretend to be, and are very devout in their way. It would certainly occur to any man who travels the world as I have done, and who had any power of reflection, what a blessing it is to be brought into the world where the name of God and a Redeemer is known, adored, and worshipped; and not where the people, given up by Heaven to strong delusions, worship the Devil, and prostrate themselves to stocks and stones; worship monsters, elements, horrid-shaped animals, and statues or images of monsters. Not a town or city we passed through but had their pagods, their idols, and their temples, and ignorant people worshipping even the works of their own hands. Now we came where, at least, a face of the Christian worship appeared; where the knee was bowed to Jesus; and whether ignorantly or not, yet the Christian religion was owned, and the name of the true God was called upon and adored, and it made my soul rejoice to see it. I saluted the brave Scots merchant I mentioned above with my first acknowledgment of this; and taking

him by the hand, I said to him, "Blessed be God, we are once again amongst Christians." He smiled, and answered, "Do not rejoice too soon, countryman; these Muscovites are but an odd sort of Christians; and but for the name of it, you may see very little of the substance for some months farther of our journey." "Well," says I, "but still it is better than paganism and worshipping of devils." "Why, I will tell you," says he, "except the Russian soldiers in the garrisons, and a few of the inhabitants of the cities upon the road, all the rest of this country, for above a thousand miles farther, is inhabited by the worst and most ignorant of pagans"; and so, indeed, we found it.

## CHAPTER XV

**W**E were now launched into the greatest piece of solid earth, if I understand anything of the surface of the globe, that is to be found in any part of the world; we had, at least, twelve thousand miles to the sea, eastward; two thousand to the bottom of the Baltic Sea, westward; and above three thousand, if we left that sea and went on west, to the British and French channels; we had full five thousand miles to the Indian or Persian Sea, south; and about eight hundred to the Frozen Sea, north. Nay, if some people may be believed, there might be no sea, north-east, till we came round the pole, and consequently into the north-west, and so had a continent of land into America, the Lord knows where; though I could give some reasons why I believe that to be a mistake.

As we entered into the Muscovite dominions a good while before we came to any considerable towns, we had nothing to observe there but this: first, that all the rivers run to the east: as I understood by the charts, which some in our caravan had



with them, it was plain all those rivers ran into the great river Yamour, or Amour; which river, by the natural course of it, must run into the East Sea, or Chinese Ocean. The story they tell us, that the mouth of this river is choked up with bulrushes of a monstrous growth, viz., three feet about, and twenty or thirty feet high, I must be allowed to say, I believe nothing of it; but, as its navigation is of no use, because there is no trade that way, the Tartars, to whom it alone belongs, dealing in nothing but cattle, so nobody, that ever I heard of, has been curious enough either to go down to the mouth of it in boats, or come up from the mouth of it in ships, as far as I can find: but this is certain, that this river running east, in the latitude of about fifty degrees, carries a vast concourse of rivers along with it, and finds an ocean to empty itself in that latitude: so we are sure of sea there.

Some leagues to the north of this river there are several considerable rivers, whose streams run as due north as the Yamour runs east, and these are all found to join their waters with the great river Tartarus, named so from the northermost nations of the Mogul Tartars; who, as the Chinese say, were the first Tartars in the world; and who, as our geographers allege, are the Gog and Magog mentioned in sacred story. These rivers running all northward, as well as all the other rivers I am yet to speak of, make it evident that the northern ocean bounds the land also on that side; so that

it does not seem rational in the least to think that the land can extend itself to join with America on that side, or that there is not a communication between the northern and eastern ocean : but of this I shall say no more ; it was my observation at that time, and therefore I take notice of it in this place.

We now advanced from the river Arguna by easy and moderate journeys, and were very visibly obliged to the care the Czar of Muscovy has taken to have cities and towns built in as many places as it is possible to place them, where his soldiers keep garrison, something like the stationary soldiers placed by the Romans in the remotest countries of their empire ; some of which that I had read of were placed in Britain, for the security of commerce, and for the lodging travellers ; and thus it was here : for wherever we came, though at these towns and stations the garrisons and governors were Russians and professed Christians, yet the inhabitants were mere pagans ; sacrificing to idols, and worshipping the sun, moon, and stars, or all the host of heaven ; and not only so, but were, of all the heathens and pagans that ever I met with, the most barbarous, except only that they did not eat men's flesh, as our savages of America did.

Some instances of this we met with in the country between Arguna, where we enter the Muscovite dominions, and a city of Tartars and Russians together, called Nertzinskoi, in which is a continued desert or forest, which cost us twenty days to

travel over. In a village, near the last of these places, I had the curiosity to go and see their way of living, which is most brutish and insufferable: they had, I suppose, a great sacrifice that day; for there stood out, upon an old stump of a tree, an idol made of wood, frightful as the Devil; at least, as anything we can think of to represent the Devil can be made. It had a head not so much as resembling any creature the world ever saw; ears as big as goats' horns, and as high; eyes as big as a crown-piece; a nose like a crooked ram's-horn, and a mouth extended four-cornered, like that of a lion, with horrible teeth, hooked like a parrot's under-bill: it was dressed up in the filthiest manner that you could suppose: its upper garment was of sheepskins, with the wool outward; a great Tartar bonnet on the head, with two horns growing through it: it was about eight feet high, yet had no feet or legs, nor any other proportion of parts.

This scarecrow was set up at the outer side of the village; and when I came near to it, there were sixteen or seventeen creatures, whether men or women I could not tell, for they made no distinction by their habits, all lying flat upon the ground round this formidable block of shapeless wood. I saw no motion among them any more than if they had been all logs of wood, like the idol, and at first I really thought they had been so; but, when I came a little nearer, they started up upon their feet and raised a howling cry, as if it had been so many deep-mouthed hounds, and walked away, as if they

were displeased at our disturbing them. A little way off from the idol, and at the door of a tent or hut, made all of sheep-skins and cow-skins dried, stood three butchers, — I thought they were such: when I came nearer to them, I found they had long knives in their hands; and in the middle of the tent appeared three sheep killed, and one young bullock or steer. These, it seems, were sacrifices to that senseless log of an idol; the three men were priests belonging to it, and the seventeen prostrated wretches were the people who brought the offering, and were making their prayers to that stock.

I confess I was more moved at their stupidity and brutish worship of a hobgoblin than ever I was at anything in my life; to see God's most glorious and best creature, to whom he had granted so many advantages, even by creation above the rest of the works of his hands, vested with a reasonable soul, and that soul adorned with faculties and capacities adapted both to honour his Maker, and be honoured by him, sunk and degenerated to a degree so very stupid as to prostrate itself to a frightful nothing, a mere imaginary object, dressed up by themselves, and made terrible to themselves by their own contrivance, adorned only with clouts and rags; and that this should be the effect of mere ignorance, wrought up into hellish devotion by the Devil himself; who, envying to his Maker the homage and adoration of his creatures, had deluded them into such sordid and brutish

things as one would think should shock nature itself!

But what signified all the astonishment and reflection of thoughts: thus it was, and I saw it before my eyes, and there was no room to wonder at it, or think it impossible: all my admiration turned to rage, and I rode up to the image or monster, call it what you will, and with my sword made a stroke at the bonnet that was on its head, and cut it in two; and one of our men that was with me took hold of the sheepskin that covered it, and pulled at it; when, behold, a most hideous outcry and howling ran through the village, and two or three hundred people came about my ears, so that I was glad to scour for it, for we saw some had bows and arrows; but I resolved from that moment to visit them again.

Our caravan rested three nights at the town, which was about four miles off, in order to provide some horses which they wanted, several of the horses having been lamed and jaded with the badness of the way, and long march over the last desert; so we had some leisure here to put my design in execution. I communicated my design to the Scots merchant of Moscow, of whose courage I had sufficient testimony: I told him what I had seen, and with what indignation I had since thought that human nature could be so degenerate; I told him, if I could get but four or five men well armed to go with me, I was resolved to go and destroy that vile, abominable idol, and let them see that it had

no power to help itself; and consequently could not be an object of worship, or to be prayed to, much less help them that offered sacrifices to it.

He laughed at me. Says he, "Your zeal may be good, but what do you propose to yourself by it?" "Propose!" said I; "to vindicate the honour of God, which is insulted by this devil-worship." "But how will it vindicate the honour of God," said he, "while the people will not be able to know what you mean by it, unless you could speak to them, and tell them so? And then they will fight you, and beat you too, I'll assure you; for they are desperate fellows, and that especially in defence of their idolatry." "Can we not," said I, "do it in the night and then leave them the reasons and the causes in writing in their own language?" "Writing!" said he; "why there is not a man in five nations of them that knows anything of a letter or how to read a word anyway." "Wretched ignorance!" said I to him: "however, I have a great mind to do it; perhaps nature may draw inferences from it to them, to let them see how brutish they are to worship such horrid things." "Look you, sir," said he, "if your zeal prompts you to it so warmly, you must do it; but, in the next place, I would have you consider, these wild nations of people are subjected by force to the Czar of Muscovy's dominion, and if you do this, it is ten to one but they will come by thousands to the Governor of Nertzinskoi, and demand satisfaction; and if he cannot give them satisfaction, it is ten to one

but they revolt; and it will occasion a new war with all the Tartars in the country."

This, I confess, put new thoughts into my head for a while, but I harped upon the same string still; and all that day I was uneasy to put my project in execution. Towards the evening the Scots merchant met me by accident in our walk about the town, and desired to speak with me: "I believe," said he, "I have put you off your good design; I have been a little concerned about it since: for I abhor idolatry as much as you can do." "Truly," said I, "you have put it off a little, as to the execution of it, but you have not put it out of my thoughts; and I believe I shall do it before I quit this place, though I were to be delivered up to them for satisfaction." "No, no," said he, "God forbid they should deliver you up to such a crew of monsters! They shall not do that neither; that would be murdering you indeed." "Why," said I, "how would they use me?" "Use you!" said he, "I'll tell you how they served a poor Russian, who affronted them in their worship, just as you did, and whom they took prisoner, after they had lamed him with an arrow, that he could not run away: they took him and stripped him stark naked, and set him upon the top of the idol-monster, and stood all round him, and shot as many arrows into him as would stick over his whole body; and then they burnt him, and all the arrows sticking in him, as a sacrifice to the idol." "And was this the same idol?" said I. "Yes," said he, "the very same."

"Well," said I, "I will tell you a story." So I related the story of our men at Madagascar, and how they burnt and sacked the village there, and killed man, woman, and child, for their murdering one of our men, just as it is related before; and I added that I thought we ought to do so to this village.

He listened very attentively to the story; but when I talked of doing so to that village, said he, "You mistake very much; it was not this village, it was almost a hundred miles from this place; but it was the same idol, for they carry him about in procession all over the country." "Well," said I, "then that idol ought to be punished for it; and it shall," said I, "if I live this night out."

In a word, finding me resolute, he liked the design, and told me I should not go alone, but he would go with me, but he would go first and bring a stout fellow, one of his countrymen, to go also with us: "and one," said he, "as famous for his zeal as you can desire any one to be against such devilish things as these." In a word, he brought me his comrade, a Scotsman, whom he called Captain Richardson; and gave him a full account of what I had seen, and also what I intended; and he told me readily he would go with me if it cost him his life. So we agreed to go, only we three. I had, indeed, proposed it to my partner, but he declined it. He said he was ready to assist me to the utmost, and upon all occasions, for my defence; but this was an adventure quite out of his way: so, I say, we resolved upon our work, only we three and my



man-servant, and to put it in execution that night about midnight, with all the secrecy imaginable.

However, upon second thoughts, we were willing to delay it till the next night, because, the caravan being to set forward in the morning, we supposed the governor could not pretend to give them any satisfaction upon us when we were out of his power. The Scots merchant, as steady in his resolution for the enterprise as bold in executing, brought me a Tartar's robe or gown of sheep-skins, and a bonnet, with a bow and arrows, and had provided the same for himself and his countryman, that the people, if they saw us, should not determine who we were.

All the first night we spent in mixing up some combustible matter with *aqua vitæ*, gunpowder, and such other materials as we could get; and, having a good quantity of tar in a little pot, about an hour after night we set out upon our expedition.

We came to the place about eleven o'clock at night, and found that the people had not the least jealousy of danger attending their idol. The night was cloudy; yet the moon gave us light enough to see that the idol stood just in the same posture and place that it did before. The people seemed to be all at their rest; only, that in the great hut, or tent, as we called it, where we saw the three priests whom we mistook for butchers, we saw a light; and going up close to the door, we heard people talking as if there were five or six of them; we concluded, therefore, that if we set wildfire to the idol, these men

would come out immediately, and run up to the place to rescue it from the destruction that we intended for it; and what to do with them we knew not. Once we thought of carrying it away and setting fire to it at a distance, but when we came to handle it, we found it too bulky for our carriage; so we were at a loss again. The second Scotsman was for setting fire to the tent or hut, and knocking the creatures that were there on the head, when they came out; but I could not join with that; I was against killing them, if it were possible to avoid it. "Well, then," said the Scots merchant, "I will tell you what we will do: we will try to make them prisoners, tie their hands, and make them stand and see their idol destroyed."

As it happened, we had twine or packthread enough about us, which we used to tie our firelocks all together with: so we resolved to attack these people first, and with as little noise as we could. The first thing we did, we knocked at the door, when, one of the priests coming to it, we immediately seized upon him, stopped his mouth, and tied his hands behind him, and led him to the idol, where we gagged him that he might not make a noise, tied his feet also together, and left him on the ground.

Two of us then waited at the door, expecting that another would come out, to see what the matter was; but we waited so long till the third man came back to us; and then nobody coming out, we knocked again gently, and immediately out

came two more, and we served them just in the same manner, but were obliged to go all with them, and lay them down by the idol some distance from one another; when, going back, we found two more were come out to the door, and a third stood behind them within the door. We seized the two, and immediately tied them, when the third stepping back, and crying out, my Scots merchant went in after him, and, taking out a composition we had made, that would only smoke and stink, he set fire to it and threw it in among them: by that time the other Scotsman and my man, taking charge of the two men already bound, and tied together also by the arm, led them away to the idol, and left them there to see if their idol would relieve them, making haste back to us.

When the furze we had thrown in had filled the hut with so much smoke that they were almost suffocated, we then threw in a small leather bag of another kind, which flamed like a candle, and following it in, we found there were but four people, and, as we supposed, had been about some of their diabolical sacrifices. They appeared, in short, frightened to death, at least so as to sit trembling and stupid, and not able to speak neither, for the smoke.

In a word, we took them, bound them as we had done the other, and all without any noise. I should have said we brought them out of the house, or hut, first; for indeed we were not able to bear the smoke any more than they were. When we had

done this, we carried them all together to the idol : when we came there we fell to work with him ; and first we daubed him all over, and his robes also, with tar, and such other stuff as we had, which was tallow mixed with brimstone : then we stopped his eyes and ears and mouth full of gunpowder ; then we wrapped up a great piece of wildfire in his bonnet ; and then sticking all the combustibles we had brought with us upon him, we looked about to see if we could find anything else to help to burn him ; when my Scotsman remembered that by the tent, or hut, where the men were, there lay a heap of dry forage, whether straw or rushes I do not remember ; away he and the other Scotsman ran and fetched their arms full of that. When we had done this, we took all our prisoners, and brought them, having untied their feet and ungagged their mouths, and made them stand up, and set them before their monstrous idol, and then set fire to the whole.

We stayed by it a quarter of an hour, or thereabouts, till the powder in the eyes and mouth and ears of the idol blew up, and, as we could perceive, had split and deformed the shape of it : and, in a word, till we saw it burned into a mere block or log of wood ; and setting dry forage to it, we found it would be soon quite consumed ; so we began to think of going away : but the Scotsman said, " No, we must not go, for these poor deluded wretches will all throw themselves into the fire, and burn themselves with the idol." So we resolved to stay

till the forage was burnt down too, and then came away and left them.

After the feat was performed, we appeared in the morning among our fellow-travellers, exceeding busy in getting ready for our journey; nor could any man suggest that we had been anywhere but in our beds, as travellers might be supposed to be, to fit themselves for the fatigues of the day's journey.

But the affair did not end so : the next day came a great number of the country people to the town gates, and in a most outrageous manner demanded satisfaction of the Russian governor for the insulting their priests, and burning their Cham Chi-Thaungu. The people of Nertzinskoi were at first in a great consternation, for they said the Tartars were already no less than thirty thousand strong.

The Russian governor sent out messengers to appease them, and gave them all the good words imaginable; assuring them that he knew nothing of it, and that there had not a soul in his garrison been abroad, so that it could not be from anybody there; but if they could let him know who did it, they should be exemplarily punished. They returned, haughtily, that all the country revered the great Cham Chi-Thaungu, who dwelt in the sun, and no mortal would have dared to offer violence to his image but some Christian miscreant; and they therefore resolved to denounce war against him and all the Russians, who, they said, were miscreants and Christians.

The governor, still patient, and unwilling to make a breach, or to have any cause of war alleged to be given by him, the Czar having strictly charged them to treat the conquered country with gentleness and civility, gave them still all the good words he could. At last he told them there was a caravan gone towards Russia that morning, and perhaps it was some of them who had done them this injury; and that if they would be satisfied with that, he would send after them to inquire into it. This seemed to appease them a little; and accordingly the governor sent after us, and gave us a particular account how the thing was; intimating withal that, if any in our caravan had done it, they should make their escape; but that, whether we had done it or no, we should make all the haste forward that was possible; and that, in the mean time, he would keep them in play as long as he could.

This was very friendly in the governor: however, when it came to the caravan, there was nobody knew anything of the matter; and as for us that were guilty, we were least of all suspected. However, the captain of the caravan for the time took the hint that the governor gave us, and we travelled two days and two nights without any considerable stop, and then we lay at a village called Plothus: nor did we make any long stop here, but hastened on towards Jarawena, another of the Czar of Muscovy's colonies, and where we expected we should be safe. But upon the second day's march from Plothus, by the clouds of dust behind

us at a great distance, some of our people began to be sensible we were pursued. We had entered a great desert, and had passed by a great lake called Schaks Oser, when we perceived a very great body of horse appear on the other side of the lake, to the north, we travelling west. We observed they went away west, as we did, but had supposed we would have taken that side of the lake, whereas we very happily took the south side; and in two days more they disappeared again: for they, believing we were still before them, pushed on till they came to the river Udda, a very great river when it passes farther north, but when we came to it we found it narrow and fordable.

The third day, they had either found their mistake, or had intelligence of us, and came pouring in upon us towards the dusk of the evening. We had, to our great satisfaction, just pitched upon a place for our camp, which was very convenient for the night; for as we were upon a desert, though but at the beginning of it, that was above five hundred miles over, we had no towns to lodge at, and, indeed, expected none but the city Jarawena, which we had yet two days' march to: the desert, however, had some few woods in it on this side, and little rivers, which ran all into the great river Udda; it was in a narrow strait, between little but very thick woods, that we pitched our little camp for that night, expecting to be attacked before morning.

Nobody knew but ourselves what we were pur-

sued for: but as it was usual for the Mogul Tartars to go about in troops in that desert, so the caravans always fortify themselves every night against them, as against armies of robbers; and it was therefore no new thing to be pursued.

But we had this night, of all the nights of our travels, a most advantageous camp; for we lay between two woods, with a little rivulet running just before our front, so that we could not be surrounded, or attacked any way but in our front or rear. We took care also to make our front as strong as we could, by placing our packs, with our camels and horses, all in a line on the inside of the river, and felling some trees in our rear.

In this posture we encamped for the night; but the enemy was upon us before we had finished our situation. They did not come on us like thieves, as we expected, but sent three messengers to us, to demand the men to be delivered to them that had abused their priests, and burned their god Cham Chi-Thaungu with fire, that they might burn them with fire; and upon this, they said, they would go away, and do us no further harm, otherwise they would destroy us all. Our men looked very blank at this message, and began to stare at one another, to see who looked with the most guilt in their faces: but nobody was the word; nobody did it. The leader of the caravan sent word he was well assured that it was not done by any of our camp; that we were peaceable merchants, travelling on our business; that we had done no harm to them



or to any one else ; and that, therefore, they must look farther for their enemies who had injured them, for we were not the people ; so desired them not to disturb us, for, if they did, we should defend ourselves.

They were far from being satisfied with this for an answer : and a great crowd of them came running down in the morning by break of day, to our camp ; but seeing us in such an unaccountable situation, they durst come no farther than the brook in our front, where they stood, and showed us such a number that indeed terrified us very much : for those that spoke least of them spoke of ten thousand. Here they stood and looked at us a while, and then, setting up a great howl, they let fly a cloud of arrows among us ; but we were well enough fortified for that, for we sheltered under our baggage, and I do not remember that one of us was hurt.

Some time after this, we saw them move a little to our right, and expected them on the rear ; when a cunning fellow, a Cossack of Jarawena, in the pay of the Muscovites, calling to the leader of the caravan, said to him, " I 'll go send all these people away to Siheilka " : this was a city four or five days' journey at least to the right, and rather behind us. So he takes his bow and arrows, and getting on horseback, he rides away from our rear directly, as it were back to Nertzinskoi ; after this, he takes a great circuit about, and comes directly on the army of the Tartars, as if he had been sent express to

tell them a long story, that the people who had burnt the Cham Chi-Thaungu were gone to Siheilka, with a caravan of miscreants, as he called them, that is to say, Christians; and that they had resolved to burn the god Schal-Isar, belonging to the Tongueses.

As this fellow was himself a mere Tartar, and perfectly spoke their language, he counterfeited so well that they all took it from him, and away they drove in a most violent hurry to Siheilka, which, it seems, was five days' journey to the north; and in less than three hours they were entirely out of our sight, and we never heard any more of them, nor whether they went to Siheilka or no. So we passed away safely on to Jarawena, where there was a garrison of Muscovites, and there we rested five days, the caravan being exceedingly fatigued with the last day's hard march, and with want of rest in the night.

From this city we had a frightful desert, which held us twenty-three days' march. We furnished ourselves with some tents here, for the better accommodating ourselves in the night; and the leader of the caravan procured sixteen carriages, or waggons of the country for carrying our water or provisions; and these carriages were our defence, every night, round our little camp; so that had the Tartars appeared, unless they had been very numerous indeed, they would not have been able to hurt us.

We may well be supposed to want rest again

after this long journey : for in this desert we neither saw house nor tree, and scarce a bush ; though we saw abundance of the sable-hunters, who are all Tartars of the Mogul Tartary, of which this country is a part ; and they frequently attack small caravans, but we saw no numbers of them together.

After we had passed this desert, we came into a country pretty well inhabited ; that is to say, we found towns and castles, settled by the Czar of Muscovy, with garrisons of stationary soldiers, to protect the caravans, and defend the country against the Tartars, who would otherwise make it very dangerous travelling ; and his czarish majesty has given such strict orders for the well guarding the caravans and merchants that, if there are any Tartars heard of in the country, detachments of the garrisons are always sent to see the travellers safe from station to station. And thus the Governor of Adinskoy, whom I had an opportunity to make a visit to, by means of the Scots merchant, who was acquainted with him, offered us a guard of fifty men, if we thought there was any danger, to the next station.

I thought, long before this, that as we came nearer to Europe we should find the country better inhabited, and the people more civilized ; but I found myself mistaken in both : for we had yet the nation of the Tongueses to pass through, where we saw the same tokens of paganism and barbarity as before ; only, as they were conquered by the Muscovites, they were not so dangerous ; but for

rudeness of manners, and idolatry, no people in the world ever went beyond them: they are clothed all in skins of beasts, and their houses are built of the same; you know not a man from a woman, neither by the ruggedness of their countenances nor their clothes; and in the winter, when the ground is covered with snow, they live underground in vaults, which have cavities going from one to another.

If the Tartars had their Cham Chi-Thaungu for a whole village or country, these had idols in every hut and every cave: besides, they worship the stars, the sun, the water, the snow, and, in a word, everything they do not understand, and they understand but very little; so that every element, every uncommon thing, sets them a-sacrificing. I met with nothing peculiar to myself in all this country, which I reckon was, from the desert I spoke of last, at least four hundred miles, half of it being another desert, which took us up twelve days' severe travelling, without house or tree; and we were obliged again to carry our own provisions, as well water as bread. After we were out of this desert, and had travelled two days, we came to Janezay, a Muscovite city or station on the great river Janezay (Yenisey), which, they told us there, parted Europe from Asia.

Here I observed ignorance and paganism still prevailed, except in the Muscovite garrisons; all the country between the river Oby and the river Janezay is as entirely pagan, and the people as

barbarous, as the remotest of the Tartars; nay, as any nation, for aught I know, in Asia or America. I also found, which I observed to the Muscovite governors whom I had an opportunity to converse with, that the poor pagans are not much wiser, or nearer Christianity, for being under the Muscovite government; which they acknowledged was true enough: but that, as they said, was none of their business: that if the Czar expected to convert his Siberian, Tonguese, or Tartar subjects, it should be done by sending clergymen among them, not soldiers: and, they added, with more sincerity than I expected, that they found it was not so much the concern of their monarch to make the people Christians as it was to make them subjects.

From this river to the great river Oby we crossed a wild uncultivated country, barren of people and good management; otherwise it is in itself a most pleasant, fruitful, and agreeable country. What inhabitants we found in it are all pagans, except such as are sent among them from Russia: for this is the country, I mean on both sides the river Oby, whither the Muscovite criminals that are not put to death are banished, and from whence it is next to impossible they should ever come away.

I have nothing material to say of my particular affairs till I came to Tobolski, the capital city of Siberia, where I continued some time on the following occasion.

We had now been almost seven months on our journey, and winter began to come on apace;

whereupon my partner and I called a council about our particular affairs, in which we found it proper, as we were bound for England, and not for Moscow, to consider how to dispose of ourselves. They told us of sledges and reindeer to carry us over the snow in the winter-time ; and, indeed, they have such things that it would be incredible to relate the particulars of, by which means the Russians travel more in the winter than they can in summer, as in these sledges they are able to run night and day: the snow, being frozen, is one universal covering to nature, by which the hills, vales, rivers, and lakes are all smooth and hard as a stone, and they run upon the surface, without any regard to what is underneath.

But I had no occasion to push at a winter journey of this kind ; I was bound to England, not to Moscow, and my route lay two ways: either I must go on as the caravan went, till I came to Jaroslaw, and then go off west for Narva, and the Gulf of Finland, and so to Dantzic, where I might possibly sell my China cargo to good advantage; or I must leave the caravan at a little town on the Dwina, from whence I had but six days by water to Archangel, and from thence might be sure of shipping either to England, Holland, or Hamburgh.

Now, to go any of these journeys in the winter would have been preposterous: for as to Dantzic, the Baltic would have been frozen up, and I could not get passage; and to go by land in those countries was far less safe than among the Mogul Tar-

tars : likewise, to go to Archangel in October, all the ships would be gone from thence, and even the merchants who dwell there in summer retire south to Moscow in the winter, when the ships are gone; so that I could have nothing but extremity of cold to encounter, with a scarcity of provisions, and must lie in an empty town all the winter: so that, upon the whole, I thought it much my better way to let the caravan go, and make provision to winter where I was, at Tobolski, in Siberia, in the latitude of about sixty degrees, where I was sure of three things to wear out a cold winter with, viz., plenty of provisions, such as the country afforded, a warm house, with fuel enough, and excellent company.

I was now in a quite different climate from my beloved island, where I never felt cold, except when I had my ague; on the contrary, I had much to do to bear any clothes on my back, and never made any fire but without-doors, which was necessary for dressing my food, etc. Now I made me three good vests, with large robes or gowns over them, to hang down to the feet, and button close to the wrists; and all these lined with furs, to make them sufficiently warm.

As to a warm house, I must confess I greatly disliked our way in England of making fires in every room in the house in open chimneys, which, when the fire was out, always kept the air in the room cold as the climate; but taking an apartment in a good house in the town, I ordered a chimney to

be built like a furnace, in the centre of six several rooms, like a stove; the funnel to carry the smoke went up one way, the door to come at the fire went in another, and all the rooms were kept equally warm, but no fire seen, just as they heat the bagnios in England. By this means, we had always the same climate in all the rooms, and an equal heat was preserved; and how cold soever it was without, it was always warm within: and yet we saw no fire, nor were ever incommoded with smoke.

The most wonderful thing of all was that it should be possible to meet with good company here, in a country so barbarous as that of the most northerly parts of Europe, near the frozen ocean, within but a very few degrees of Nova Zembla. But this being the country where the state criminals of Muscovy, as I observed before, are all banished, this city was full of noblemen, gentlemen, soldiers, and courtiers of Muscovy. Here was the famous Prince Gallitzen, the old General Robostiski, and several other persons of note, and some ladies. By means of my Scots merchant, whom, nevertheless, I parted with here, I made an acquaintance with several of these gentlemen; and from these, in the long winter nights in which I stayed here, I received several very agreeable visits.

It was talking one night with Prince —, one of the banished ministers of state belonging to the Czar of Muscovy, that the discourse of my particular case began. He had been telling me abundance of fine things of the greatness, the mag-



nificence, the dominions, and the absolute power of the Emperor of the Russians: I interrupted him, and told him I was a greater and more powerful prince than even the Czar of Muscovy was, though my dominions were not so large, or my people so many. The Russian grandee looked a little surprised, and, fixing his eyes steadily upon me, began to wonder what I meant. I told him his wonder would cease when I had explained myself. First, I told him I had absolute disposal of the lives and fortunes of all my subjects; that, notwithstanding my absolute power, I had not one person disaffected to my government, or to my person, in all my dominions. He shook his head at that, and said there, indeed, I outdid the Czar of Muscovy. I told him that all the lands in my kingdom were my own, and all my subjects were not only my tenants, but tenants at will; that they would all fight for me to the last drop; and that never tyrant, for such I acknowledged myself to be, was ever so universally beloved, and yet so horribly feared by his subjects.

After amusing him with these riddles in government for a while, I opened the case, and told him the story at large of my living in the island; and how I managed both myself and the people that were under me, just as I have since minuted it down. They were exceedingly taken with the story, and especially the prince, who told me, with a sigh, that the true greatness of life was to be masters of ourselves; that he would not have exchanged such

a state of life as mine to be Czar of Muscovy ; and that he found more felicity in the retirement he seemed to be banished to there than ever he found in the highest authority he enjoyed in the court of his master the Czar ; that the height of human wisdom was to bring our tempers down to our circumstances, and to make a calm within, under the weight of the greatest storms without. When he came first hither, he said he used to tear the hair from his head, and the clothes from his back, as others had done before him ; but a little time and consideration had made him look into himself, as well as round him, to things without : that he found the mind of man, if it was but once brought to reflect upon the state of universal life, and how little this world was concerned in its true felicity, was perfectly capable of making a felicity for itself fully satisfying to itself, and suitable to its own best ends and desires, with but very little assistance from the world. The air to breathe in, food to sustain life, clothes for warmth, and liberty for exercise, in order to health, completed, in his opinion, all that the world could do for us ; and though the greatness, the authority, the riches, and the pleasures which some enjoyed in the world had much in them that was agreeable to us, yet all those things chiefly gratified the coarsest of our affections, such as our ambition, our particular pride, avarice, vanity, and sensuality ; all which, being the mere product of the worst part of man, were in themselves crimes, and had in them the seeds of all manner

of crimes; but neither were related to, nor concerned with, any of those virtues that constituted us wise men, or of those graces that distinguished us as Christians; that being now deprived of all the fancied felicity which he enjoyed in the full exercise of all those vices, he said he was at leisure to look upon the dark side of them, where he found all manner of deformity, and was now convinced that virtue only makes a man truly wise, rich, and great, and preserves him in the way to a superior happiness in a future state; and in this, he said, they were more happy in their banishment than all their enemies were, who had the full possession of all the wealth and power they had left behind them. "Nor, sir," says he, "do I bring my mind to this politically, by the necessity of my circumstances, which some call miserable; but, if I know anything of myself, I would not now go back, though the Czar my master should call me, and reinstate me in all my former grandeur: I say, I would no more go back to it than I believe my soul, when it shall be delivered from this prison of the body, and has had a taste of the glorious state beyond life, would come back to the gaol of flesh and blood it is now enclosed in, and leave heaven, to deal in the dirt and crime of human affairs."

He spoke this with so much warmth in his temper, so much earnestness and motion of his spirits, that it was evident it was the true sense of his soul; there was no room to doubt his sincerity. I told him I once thought myself a kind of monarch in

my old station, of which I had given him an account ; but that I thought he was not only a monarch, but a great conqueror ; for that he that has got a victory over his own exorbitant desires, and the absolute dominion over himself, whose reason entirely governs his will, is certainly greater than he that conquers a city. "But, my lord," said I, "shall I take the liberty to ask you a question ?" "With all my heart," says he. "If the door of your liberty was opened," said I, "would you not take hold of it to deliver you from this exile ?" "Hold," said he, "your question is subtile, and requires some serious, just distinctions, to give it a sincere answer ; and I will give it you from the bottom of my heart. Nothing that I know of in this world would move me to deliver myself from this state of banishment, except these two : first, the enjoyment of my relations ; and, secondly, a little warmer climate : but I protest to you that to go back to the pomp of the court, the glory, the power, the hurry of a minister of state ; the wealth, the gaiety, and the pleasures of a courtier ; if my master should send me word this moment that he restores me to all he banished me from, I protest, if I know myself at all, I would not leave this wilderness, these deserts, and these frozen lakes, for the palace at Moscow." "But, my lord," said I, "perhaps you not only are banished from the pleasures of the court, and from the power, authority, and wealth you enjoyed before, but you may me absent too from some of the conveniences of life : your estate, perhaps, confiscated, and your

effects plundered ; and the supplies left you here may not be suitable to the ordinary demands of life." "Aye," says he, "that is as you suppose me to be a lord or a prince, etc. ; so, indeed, I am ; but you are now to consider me only as a man, a human creature, not at all distinguished from another ; and so I can suffer no want, unless I should be visited with sickness and distempers. However, to put the question out of dispute, you see our manner : we are, in this place, five persons of rank ; we live perfectly retired, as suited to a state of banishment ; we have something rescued from the shipwreck of our fortunes, which keeps us from the mere necessity of hunting for food ; but the poor soldiers, who are here without that help, live in as much plenty as we, who go into the woods and catch sables and foxes : the labour of a month will maintain them a year ; and, as the way of living is not expensive, so it is not hard to get sufficient to ourselves. So that objection is out of doors."

I have not room to give a full account of the most agreeable conversation I had with this truly great man ; in all which he showed that his mind was so inspired with a superior knowledge of things, so supported by religion, as well as by a vast share of wisdom, that his contempt of the world was really as much as he had expressed, and that he was always the same to the last, as will appear in the story I am going to tell.

I had been here eight months, and a dark, dreadful winter I thought it ; the cold so intense that I

could not so much as look abroad without being wrapped in furs, and a mask of fur before my face, or rather a hood, with only a hole for breath, and two for sight; the little daylight we had was, as we reckoned, for three months, not above five hours a day, and six at most; only that the snow lying on the ground continually, and the weather clear, it was never quite dark. Our horses were kept, or rather starved, underground, and as for our servants, whom we hired here to look after ourselves and horses, we had, every now and then, their fingers and toes to thaw and take care of, lest they should mortify and fall off.

It is true, within-doors we were warm, the houses being close, the walls thick, the lights small, and the glass all double. Our food was chiefly the flesh of deer, dried and cured in the season; bread good enough, but baked as biscuits; dried fish of several sorts, and some flesh of mutton and of the buffaloes, which is pretty good meat. All the stores of provisions for the winter are laid up in the summer, and well cured: our drink was water, mixed with *aqua vitae* instead of brandy; and for a treat, mead instead of wine, which, however, they have excellent good. The hunters, who venture abroad all weathers, frequently brought us in fine venison, and sometimes bear's flesh, but we did not much care for the last. We had a good stock of tea, with which we treated our friends, as above, and we lived very cheerfully and well, all things considered.

It was now March, the days grown considerably

longer, and the weather at least tolerable; so the other travellers began to prepare sledges to carry them over the snow, and to get things ready to be going: but my measures being fixed, as I have said, for Archangel, and not for Muscovy or the Baltic, I made no motion; knowing very well that the ships from the south do not set out for that part of the world till May or June, and that if I was there by the beginning of August, it would be as soon as any ships would be ready to go away; and therefore I made no haste to be gone, as others did: in a word, I saw a great many people, nay, all the travellers, go away before me. It seems, every year they go from thence to Muscovy for trade, viz., to carry furs, and buy necessities, which they bring back with them to furnish their shops: also others went on the same errand to Archangel; but then they all being to come back again, above eight hundred miles, went all out before me.

In the month of May I began to make all ready to pack up; and, as I was doing this, it occurred to me that, seeing all these people were banished by the Czar of Muscovy to Siberia, and yet, when they came there, were left at liberty to go whither they would, why they did not then go away to any part of the world, wherever they thought fit; and I began to examine what should hinder them from making such an attempt. But my wonder was over when I entered upon that subject with the person I have mentioned, who answered me thus: "Consider, first, sir," said he, "the place where we

are; and, secondly, the condition we are in: especially the generality of the people who are banished hither. We are surrounded with stronger things than bars or bolts: on the north side an unnavigable ocean, where ship never sailed, and boat never swam; every other way, we have about a thousand miles to pass through the Czar's own dominions, and by ways utterly impassable, except by the roads made by the government and through the towns garrisoned by his troops: so that he could neither pass undiscovered by the road, nor subsist any other way: so that it is in vain to attempt it."

I was silenced, indeed, at once, and found that they were in a prison every jot as secure as if they had been locked up in the castle at Moscow; however, it came into my thoughts that I might certainly be made an instrument to procure the escape of this excellent person; and that, whatever hazard I ran, I would certainly try if I could carry him off. Upon this I took an occasion, one evening, to tell him my thoughts. I represented to him that it was very easy for me to carry him away, there being no guard over him in the country; and as I was not going to Moscow, but to Archangel, and that I went in the retinue of a caravan, by which I was not obliged to lie in the stationary towns in the desert but could encamp every night where I would, we might easily pass uninterrupted to Archangel, where I would immediately secure him on board an English ship, and carry him safe along with me; and as to his subsistence, and other particulars, it



should be my care, till he could better supply himself.

He heard me very attentively, and looked earnestly on me all the while I spoke; nay, I could see in his very face that what I said put his spirits into an exceeding ferment: his colour frequently changed, his eyes looked red, and his heart fluttered, that it might be even perceived in his countenance; nor could he immediately answer me when I had done, and as it were hesitated what he would say to it; but after he had paused a little, he embraced me, and said, "How unhappy are we, unguarded creatures as we are, that even our greatest acts of friendship are made snares unto us, and we are made tempters of one another! My dear friend," said he, "your offer is so sincere, has such kindness in it, is so disinterested in itself, and is so calculated for my advantage, that I must have very little knowledge of the world if I did not both wonder at it, and acknowledge the obligation I have upon me to you for it. But did you believe I was sincere in what I have often said to you of my contempt of the world? Did you believe I spoke my very soul to you, and that I had really obtained that degree of felicity here that had placed me above all that the world could give me? Did you believe I was sincere when I told you I would not go back, if I was recalled even to be all that I once was in the court, with the favour of the Czar my master? Did you believe me, my friend, to be an honest man; or did you believe me to be a boast-

ing hypocrite?" Here he stopped, as if he would hear what I would say; but, indeed, I soon after perceived that he stopped because his spirits were in motion, his great heart was full of struggles, and he could not go on. I was, I confess, astonished at the thing as well as at the man, and I used some arguments with him to urge him to set himself free; that he ought to look upon this as a door opened by Heaven for his deliverance, and a summons by Providence, who has the care and disposition of all events, to do himself good, and to render himself useful in the world.

He had by this time recovered himself: "How do you know, sir," says he, warmly, "but that, instead of a summons from Heaven, it may be a feint of another instrument; representing in alluring colours to me the show of felicity as a deliverance, which may in itself be my snare, and tend directly to my ruin? Here I am free from the temptation of returning to my former miserable greatness; there I am not sure but that all the seeds of pride, ambition, avarice, and luxury, which I know remain in nature, may revive and take root, and, in a word, again overwhelm me; and then the happy prisoner, whom you see now master of his soul's liberty, shall be the miserable slave of his own senses, in the full of all personal liberty. Dear sir, let me remain in this blessed confinement, banished from the crimes of life, rather than purchase a show of freedom at the expense of the liberty of my reason, and at the expense of the

future happiness which I now have in my view, but shall then, I fear, quickly lose sight of: for I am but flesh; a man, a mere man; have passions and affections as likely to possess and overthrow me as any man: O be not my friend and tempter both together!"

If I was surprised before, I was quite dumb now, and stood silent, looking at him, and, indeed, admiring what I saw. The struggle in his soul was so great, that though the weather was extremely cold, it put him into a most violent sweat, and I found he wanted to give vent to his mind; so I said a word or two, that I would leave him to consider of it, and wait on him again, and then I withdrew to my own apartment.

About two hours after, I heard somebody at or near the door of my room, and I was going to open the door, but he had opened it, and came in. "My dear friend," he says, "you had almost over-set me, but I am recovered. Do not take it ill that I do not close with your offer; I assure you it is not for want of sense of the kindness of it in you; and I came to make the most sincere acknowledgment of it to you; but I hope I have got the victory over myself." "My lord," said I, "I hope you are fully satisfied that you do not resist the call of Heaven." "Sir," said he, "if it had been from Heaven, the same power would have influenced me to have accepted it: but I hope, and am fully satisfied, that it is from Heaven that I declined it; and I have infinite satisfaction in the

parting, that you shall leave me an honest man still, though not a free man."

I had nothing to do but to acquiesce, and make professions to him of my having no end in it but a sincere desire to serve him. He embraced me very passionately, and assured me he was sensible of that, and should always acknowledge it; and with that he offered me a very fine present of sables, too much, indeed, for me to accept from a man in his circumstances, and I would have avoided them, but he would not be refused.

The next morning I sent my servant to his lordship with a small present of tea, and two pieces of China damask, and four little wedges of Japan gold, which did not all weigh above six ounces or thereabout, but were far short of the value of his sables, which, when I came to England, I found worth near two hundred pounds. He accepted the tea, and one piece of the damask, and one of the pieces of gold, which had a fine stamp upon it, of the Japan coinage, which I found he took for the rarity of it, but would not take any more; and he sent word by my servant that he desired to speak with me.

When I came to him, he told me I knew what had passed between us, and hoped I would not move him any more in that affair; but that, since I had made such a generous offer to him, he asked me if I had kindness enough to offer the same to another person that he would name to me, in whom he had a great share of concern. I told him that

I could not say I inclined to do so much for any but himself, for whom I had a particular value, and should have been glad to have been the instrument of his deliverance ; however, if he would please to name the person to me, I would give him my answer. He told me it was his only son ; who, though I had not seen him, yet he was in the same condition with himself, and above two hundred miles from him, on the other side the Oby ; but that, if I consented, he would send for him.

I made no hesitation, but told him I would do it. I made some ceremony in letting him understand that it was wholly on his account ; and that seeing I could not prevail on him, I would show my respect to him by my concern for his son : but these things are too tedious to repeat here. He sent away the next day for his son ; and in about twenty days he came back with the messenger, bringing six or seven horses loaded with very rich furs, and which, in the whole, amounted to a very great value. His servants brought the horses into the town, but left the young lord at a distance till night, when he came incognito into our apartment, and his father presented him to me, and, in short, we concerted the manner of our travelling, and everything proper for the journey.

I had bought a considerable quantity of sables, black fox-skins, fine ermines, and such other furs as are very rich, in that city, in exchange for some of the goods I had brought from China : in par-

ticular for the cloves and nutmegs, of which I sold the greatest part here, and the rest afterward at Archangel, for a much better price than I could have got at London; and my partner, who was sensible of the profit, and whose business more particularly than mine was merchandise, was mightily pleased with our stay, on account of the traffic we made here.

It was the beginning of June when I left this remote place, a city, I believe, little heard of in the world; and, indeed, it is so far out of the road of commerce that I know not how it should be much talked of. We were now reduced to a very small caravan, having only thirty-two horses and camels in all, and all of them passed for mine, though my new guest was proprietor of eleven of them: it was most natural also that I should take more servants with me than I had before; and the young lord passed for my steward: what great man I passed for myself I know not, neither did it concern me to inquire. We had here the worst and the largest desert to pass over that we met with in our whole journey; I call it the worst, because the way was very deep in some places, and very uneven in others; the best we had to say for it was that we thought we had no troops of Tartars or robbers to fear, and that they never came on this side the river Oby, or at least but very seldom; but we found it otherwise.

My young lord had a faithful Muscovite, or rather a Siberian servant, who was perfectly ac-

quainted with the country, and led us by private roads, so that we avoided coming into the principal towns and cities upon the great road, such as Tumen, Soloy Kamskoi, and several others; because the Muscovite garrisons which are kept there are very curious and strict in their observation upon travellers, and searching lest any of the banished persons of note should make their escape that way into Muscovy. But by this means, as we were kept out of the cities, so our whole journey was a desert, and we were obliged to encamp and lie in our tents, when we might have had very good accommodation in the cities on the way: this the young lord was so sensible of that he would not allow us to lie abroad when we came to several cities on the way, but lay abroad himself, with his servant, in the woods, and met us always at the appointed places.

We were just entered Europe, having passed the river Kama, which in these parts is the boundary between Europe and Asia, and the first city on the European side was called Soloy Kamskoi, which is as much as to say, the great city on the river Kama; and here we thought to see some evident alteration in the people; but we were mistaken: for as we had a vast desert to pass, which is near seven hundred miles long in some places, but not above two hundred miles over where we passed it, so, till we came past that horrible place, we found very little difference between that country and the Mogul Tartary: the people are mostly pagans, and little

better than the savages of America ; their houses and towns full of idols, and their way of living wholly barbarous, except in the cities, as above, and the villages near them, where they are Christians, as they call themselves, of the Greek Church ; but have their religion mingled with so many relics of superstition that it is scarce to be known in some places from mere sorcery and witchcraft.

In passing this forest, I thought, indeed, we must (after all our dangers were to our imagination escaped, as before) have been plundered and robbed, and perhaps murdered, by a troop of thieves : of what country they were I am yet at a loss to know, but they were all on horseback, carried bows and arrows, and were at first about forty-five in number : they came so near to us as to be within two musket-shots, and asking no questions, surrounded us with their horses, and looked very earnestly upon us twice : at length they placed themselves just in our way ; upon which we drew up in a little line, before our camels, being not above sixteen men in all ; and being drawn up thus, we halted, and sent out the Siberian servant, who attended his lord, to see who they were : his master was the more willing to let him go, because he was not a little apprehensive that they were a Siberian troop sent out after him. The man came up near them with a flag of truce, and called to them ; but though he spoke several of their languages, or dialects of languages rather, he could not understand a word they said : however, after



some signs to him not to come nearer to them, at his peril, the fellow came back no wiser than he went : only that by their dress, he said, he believed them to be some Tartars of Kalmuck, or of the Circassian hordes, and that there must be more of them upon the great desert, though he had never heard that any of them were seen so far north before.

About an hour after, they again made a motion to attack us, and rode round our little wood to see where they might break in ; but finding us always ready to face them, they went off again ; and we resolved not to stir for that night.

This was small comfort to us ; however, we had no remedy : there was on our left hand, at about a quarter of a mile distance, a little grove, and very near the road ; I immediately resolved we should advance to those trees, and fortify ourselves as well as we could there : for, first, I considered that the trees would in a great measure cover us from their arrows ; and, in the next place, they could not come to charge us in a body : it was, indeed, my old Portuguese pilot who proposed it, and who had this excellency attending him, that he was always readiest and most apt to direct and encourage us in cases of the most danger. We advanced immediately, with what speed we could, and gained that little wood ; the Tartars, or thieves, for we knew not what to call them, keeping their stand, and not attempting to hinder us. When we came thither, we found, to our great satisfaction, that it was a

swampy piece of ground, and on the one side a very great spring of water, which, running out in a little brook, was, a little farther, joined by another of the like size; and was, in short, the source of a considerable river, called afterwards the Wirtska: the trees which grew about this spring were not above two hundred, but very large, and stood pretty thick, so that as soon as we got in we saw ourselves perfectly safe from the enemy, unless they attacked us on foot.

While we stayed here waiting the motion of the enemy some hours, without perceiving they made any movement, our Portuguese, with some help, cut several arms of trees half off, and laid them hanging across from one tree to another, and in a manner fenced us in. About two hours before night they came down directly upon us: and though we had not perceived it, we found they had been joined by some more of the same, so that they were near fourscore horse; whereof, however, we fancied some were women. They came on till they were within half-shot of our little wood, when we fired one musket without ball, and called to them in the Russian tongue to know what they wanted, and bade them keep off: but they came on with a double fury up to the wood side, not imagining we were so barricaded that they could not easily break in. Our old pilot was our captain, as well as our engineer, and desired us not to fire upon them till they came within pistol-shot, that we might be sure to kill; and that when we did fire, we should

be sure to take good aim: we bade him give the word of command, which he delayed so long that they were some of them within two pikes' length of us when we let fly. We aimed so true that we killed fourteen of them, and wounded several others, as also several of their horses; for we had all of us loaded our pieces with two or three bullets at least.

They were terribly surprised with our fire, and retreated immediately about one hundred rods from us, in which time we loaded our pieces again, and seeing them keep that distance, we sallied out, and caught four or five of their horses, whose riders we supposed were killed: and coming up to the dead, we judged they were Tartars, but knew not how they came to make an excursion of such an unusual length.

We slept little, you may be sure, but spent the most part of the night in strengthening our situation, and barricading the entrances into the wood, and keeping a strict watch. We waited for daylight, and when it came, it gave us a very unwelcome discovery, indeed: for the enemy, who we thought were discouraged with the reception they met with, were now greatly increased, and had set up eleven or twelve huts or tents, as if they were resolved to besiege us: and this little camp they had pitched upon the open plain, about three quarters of a mile from us. We were, indeed, surprised at this discovery; and now, I confess, I gave myself over for lost, and all that I had; the loss of

my effects did not lie so near me, though very considerable, as the thoughts of falling into the hands of such barbarians, at the latter end of my journey, after so many difficulties and hazards as I had gone through, and even in sight of our port, where we expected safety and deliverance. As to my partner, he was raging, and declared that to lose his goods would be his ruin, and that he would rather die than be starved; and he was for fighting to the last drop.

The young lord, as gallant as ever flesh showed itself, was for fighting to the last also; and my old pilot was of the opinion that we were able to resist them all in the situation we were then in; and thus we spent the day in debates of what we should do. But towards evening we found that the number of our enemies still increased, and we did not know but by the morning they might be a still greater number: so I began to inquire of those people we had brought from Tobolski, if there were no private ways, by which we might avoid them in the night, and perhaps retreat to some town, or get help to guard us over the desert. The Siberian, who was servant to the young lord, told us if we designed to avoid them, and not fight, he would engage to carry us off in the night, to a way that went north, towards the river Petrou, by which he made no question but we might get away, and the Tartars never the wiser: but, he said, his lord had told him he would not retreat, but would rather choose to fight. I told him he mistook his lord; for

that he was too wise a man to love fighting for the sake of it; and that I knew his lord was brave enough, by what he had showed already; but that his lord knew better than to desire seventeen or eighteen men to fight five hundred, unless an unavoidable necessity forced them to it; and that, if he thought it possible for us to escape in the night, we had nothing else to do but to attempt it. He answered, if his lordship gave him such orders he would lose his life if he did not perform it: we soon brought his lord to give that order, though privately, and we immediately prepared for the putting it in practice.

And, first, as soon as it began to be dark, we kindled a fire in our little camp, which we kept burning, and prepared so as to make it burn all night, that the Tartars might conclude we were still there; but as soon as it was dark, and we could see the stars (for our guide would not stir before), having all our horses and camels ready loaded, we followed our new guide, who I soon found steered himself by the North Star.

After we had travelled two hours very hard, it began to be lighter still; not that it was quite dark all night, but the moon began to rise, so that, in short, it was rather lighter than we wished it to be; but by six o'clock the next morning we were got above thirty miles, having almost spoiled our horses. Here we found a Russian village, named Kermazinskoy, where we rested, and heard nothing of the Kalmuck Tartars that day. About

two hours before night we set out again, and travelled till eight the next morning, though not quite so hard as before; and about seven o'clock we passed a little river, called Kirtza, and came to a good large town inhabited by Russians, called Ozomoys: there we heard that several troops of Kalmucks had been abroad upon the desert, but that we were now completely out of danger of them, which was to our great satisfaction. Here we were obliged to get some fresh horses; and having need enough of rest, we stayed five days; and my partner and I agreed to give the honest Siberian who brought us thither the value of ten pistoles.

In five days more we came to Veuslima, upon the river Wirtzogda, and running into the Dwina: we were there, very happily, near the end of our travels by land, that river being navigable, in seven days' passage, to Archangel. From hence we came to Lawrenskoy the 3d of July; and providing ourselves with two luggage boats, and a barge for our own convenience, we embarked the 7th, and arrived all safe at Archangel the 18th; having been a year, five months, and three days on the journey, including our stay of eight months at Tobolski. We were obliged to stay at this place six weeks for the arrival of the ships, and must have tarried longer had not a Hamburger come in above a month sooner than any of the English ships: when, after some consideration that the city of Hamburg might happen to be as good a market for our goods as London, we all took freight with

him ; and, having put our goods on board, it was most natural for me to put my steward on board to take care of them : by which means my young lord had a sufficient opportunity to conceal himself, never coming on shore again all the time we stayed there ; and this he did that he might not be seen in the city, where some of the Moscow merchants would certainly have seen and discovered him.

We then set sail from Archangel the 20th of August, the same year ; and after no extraordinary bad voyage, arrived safe in the Elbe the 18th of September. Here my partner and I found a very good sale for our goods, as well those of China as the sables, etc., of Siberia ; and dividing the produce, my share amounted to three thousand four hundred and seventy-five pounds seventeen shillings and threepence, including about six hundred pounds' worth of diamonds which I purchased at Bengal.

Here the young lord took his leave of us, and went up the Elbe, in order to go to the Court of Vienna, where he resolved to seek protection, and could correspond with those of his father's friends who were left alive. He did not part without testimonies of gratitude for the service I had done him, and his sense of my kindness to the Prince his father.

To conclude, having stayed near four months in Hamburgh, I came from thence by land to The Hague, where I embarked in the packet, and ar-

rived in London the 10th of January, 1705, having been absent from England ten years and nine months. And here I resolved to prepare for a longer journey than all these, having lived a life of infinite variety seventy-two years, and learned sufficiently to know the value of retirement, and the blessing of ending our days in peace.

THE END





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